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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 2, Apr-May-Jun 1980

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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 2, Apr-May-Jun 1980

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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ON THE 110TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF V. I. LENIN

THE CREATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF V. I. LENIN TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIST SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

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/Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mikhail Trifonovich Iovchuk and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Gennadiy Vasil'yevich Osipov, chief of a department of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

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V. I. LENIN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF SOCIALIST COMPETITION

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/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Makarovich Yakushev, senior instructor of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers/

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METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITY OF THE PLANNING OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

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/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences and Doctor of Economic Sciences Vasiliy Yakovlevich Yel'meyev, professor of Leningrad State University, Candidate of Economic Sciences Vyacheslav Tikhonovich Pulyayev, docent of Leningrad State University, and Doctor of Economic Sciences Boris Romanovich Ryashchenko, professor of Leningrad State University/

/Text/ The direct solution of problems on increasing the material well-being and cultural level of the workers, on forming the socialist way of life and on preparing the conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual is making especially urgent the elaboration of the theory and methodology of the planning of social development in its fundamental unity with the planning of the economy. The need to ensure the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems when drafting and implementing state plans is advanced as one of the most important principles of planning at the present stage in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on economic problems (June 1979).[1]

The practice of planning, of course, previously was also not limited to the regulation of the economy alone, social problems also were always solved by means of plans. Each time the economic achievements entailed changes in the social areas of the life of our society, although the degree and extent of coverage by the plans of social processes were not the same at the different stages of the development of socialist society. It should be emphasized, however, that the existence of a social aspect in previous national economic plans and the advancement of social development as an object of planning along with the economy are different stages of planned management. Social planning is a feature of mature socialism. At precisely this stage the need to subordinate production to the meeting of social and individual needs is transformed into the most important practical problem, and in this connection substantial changes are made in the formulation of the main tasks of the five-year plans. The further improvement of the entire system of planning is under way: it should be oriented toward the end national economic results, which are directly connected with the meeting of social and individual needs.

The theoretical aspect of the problem is no less significant. Economic scholars now admit that until recently "political economists and economic planners one-sidedly characterized national economic planning as economic planning," while in textbooks and educational material on political economy, as a rule, the planning of the national economy is still treated only as a form of the realization of economic laws or only the law of planned, proportionate development.[2]

At the same time, as before, the opinion that merely the fact of the recognition of the social aspect of planning is sufficient to solve the problem is widespread: since, they say, social planning is not a special problem and "it is a matter /not of the creation of a separate 'social' planning, but of the development of the social aspect of planning"[3]/ /in boldface/, there is no need to create either a theory or a methodology of planning social development.

In our opinion, the question should be stated in a different way--it is necessary to elaborate a theory of the planning of social development, to raise it to the level of the already created theory of the planning of economic development, in practice to give social planning equal rights with economic planning.[4] Unfortunately, much is still unresolved in this area: in the plans there are not yet consolidated sections on social planning and a generalized description of social processes, a system of synthetic and special indicators of the most important aspects of their development has not been developed.

Thus, there is a problem, and a very serious one. In order to implement the provisions of the new USSR Constitution on the fundamental connection of the plans of economic and social development, it is necessary to improve the really existing system of the planning of social processes at various levels, and first of all to elaborate its methodology and theory. It is necessary to change the content of textbooks and academic courses of planning, and not simply to add social questions or aspects to the existing sections, but to insert new problems which are no less important than economic problems. This cannot be done without the broadening of the scientific base of planning: it should be organized on the basis of not only economic, but also other social sciences, including sociology.

The main thing that has to be done in this area is to ensure /methodologically/ /in boldface/ the connection and unity of the planning of economic and social development.

At first glance it may appear that the use of systems structural analysis, which at times is passed off as the concrete expression of the dialectical method as applied to planning, may be the most effective methodological means of solving the raised problem. In order to achieve the unity of the economic and social aspects in such cases it is considered sufficient to declare them elements of the same complex dynamic system, which also functions as the (systems) cause of their integrity. Here the connection of the economic and the social is represented as a functional dependence:

the changes of the social on one axis as if correspond to the changes of the economic on the other axis.

It should be immediately emphasized that a correct methodological solution of the question can hardly be achieved along this line. Socialist society, of course, is a dynamic system, but the unity of the economic and the social in it is determined not by its "systems" nature and is governed by no means by a "systems" cause, but has another, deeper basis--it is based on the essence, the nature of production, which is the substance of social life. Society reproduces itself in its entirety precisely by means of production, and therefore the comprehensive planning of economic and social development in their unity directly depends on the understanding of the essence of socialist social production.

Here it is important not to confine social production to the immediate production process and not to reduce it to the production of a physical product, as a result of which planning is frequently interpreted only as an economic phenomenon. The narrowness of such an approach to the understanding of production was repeatedly indicated by K. Marx, who emphasized that production inevitably assumes the nature of the process of "the production and reproduction... of production relations and, thereby, of the bearers of this process, the material conditions of their existence and their interrelations, that is, the specific socio-economic form of the latter."[5]

It would obviously be wrong to reduce the essence of socialist production to the creation of a product, be it even a directly social product. When socialist production is treated as the production of social use values, which has as its immediate goal the meeting of the needs of the workers, this is not the naturalization of production, but an indication of the socio-economic definiteness of its form. In essence it is a matter here of socialist production as the reproduction of man and society, for production, which sets as its immediate goal the creation of use values for meeting the needs of people, inevitably acts as the production of man himself. And under the conditions of socialism "...the production of man as the most complete and universal product of society as possible"[6] is transformed from a condition of production into its essence.

The recognition of man and society as the end result (the product) of production presumes that the social process of production does not come to an end and is not shut within its first type--the process of the embodiment of labor in a physical product (thing), but continues within consumption production. It is from the last type of production that its end result--man and society--"comes." "This production, which is identical to consumption, is the second type of production, which results from the destruction of the product of the first type. The producer embodies himself in the first type, the thing produced by him is personified in the second type."[7] Consequently, production, which is taken in a general connection and with respect to society as a whole, has as its end result society itself and man in his social relations. When, for example, we say that a socialist society, the Soviet man and a socialist way of life are the result of the 60-year

development of our country, the named achievements are first of all the result of the social process of socialist production.

The understanding of the latter in the broad socio-economic sense, that is, as the production of man, serves as the basis for the recognition of the unity of economic and social development and their planning. In this case the opportunity arises to view the social process of production from the point of view of unified objective laws, which cover both physical production as such and social production, within the framework of which the product is dematerialized and is transformed into the forms of the social existence of man and society. Accordingly the laws of the development of production as the substantive basis of society cannot be broken down metaphysically into economic and social (sociological) laws. V. I. Lenin sharply opposed the very "idea of estranging sociological laws from economic laws."[8] "I absolutely do not understand," he wrote, "what might be the point of such a distinction?? How can the economic be outside the social??"[9]

In examining the laws known in political economy, it is impossible to lose sight of both the social and the economic aspects, but it is necessary to represent them as laws of social and economic development simultaneously.

The main law of socialism, when it is treated only as the law of the production of a product, while the realization of the goal of production, which is expressed by it, is seen in the social product and its forms, assumes a reduced and one-sided economic appearance, since in this case the link, which lies between the product and the result of its consumption--the achievable well-being and development of man, the link, which is the second type of production--consumption production--disappears from the mechanism of the effect of the main law.

It is completely clear that planning, which is reduced to the regulation of the production of a product, also does not cover the mentioned link and realizes the main law only in part. Therefore, it is necessary to supplement economic planning with social planning, which assumes the task of "subordinating" the product, which was produced in the sphere of physical production, to the needs of the workers and society and the meeting of the needs to the formation of a developed individual.

It is important to find in the mechanism of the main law that link, by means of which the product of production is personified. Only in this case is the profound social essence of the main law revealed: its reflection of the main production and at the same time social relation of socialism--the relation of the production and reproduction of the developed man and society. It, too, acts as a law of the reproduction of this relation. In such an approach the very fact of the continuation of the effect of the named law in the social area as well is established, that is, it acquires at the same time the significance of the main social law of the comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual. In the system of the goal function of planning this link acts as a connecting bridge from economic planning to social planning, as an expression of the unity and fundamental connection of

their goals: a product is produced not for an increase of the value, but for the maximum possible satisfaction in this case of the needs of the population, while consumption is subordinate to the comprehensive development of the individual. In other words, the produced product and production itself should simultaneously meet both the conditions of consumption and the conditions of the development of man and society.

The fundamental fusion of the economic and the social contains the law of the economy of labor, which is another basis of the unity of their planning. This law under the conditions of socialism expresses the same relation (the relation on the production and reproduction of the developed man and society) as the main law, but only from the standpoint of the accomplishment of this goal of production and social production in general. At the same time it is impossible not to note the limitedness of the existing formulations of the law of the economy of working time: as a rule, they reflect the connection of the economy of labor only with the amount of the produced physical product. The law of increasing labor productivity is interpreted on the same level.

Meanwhile the specific peculiarity of the effect of the mentioned laws lies in something else--in the economy of working time and the increase of free time, which once again presumes the reproduction of an all-round developed man. K. Marx linked the saving of working time directly to the increase of free time, presuming that from the point of view of the immediate process of production this saving can be regarded as the production of fixed capital, which man himself is.[10] Keeping in mind precisely this aspect, he called the law of the economy of working time the first economic law of socialism, even a law of a much higher degree.[11]

In economic literature the saving of working time is virtually not examined in the indicated sense. Some authors, as V. N. Kashin justly writes, in general do without this "first economic law," which operates on the basis of collective production.[12] The reason for this is once again the reduction of the rich content of social production to the production of a physical product and the adaptation of the mechanism of the effect of economic laws to the explanation of the production of only a physical product. In this case the problem of the economy of time inevitably reduces to the reduction of necessary labor and the increase of surplus labor, that is, the transformation of the saved portion of working time into free time is removed from the agenda, and along with this the production of a developed man. Hence the remark of K. Marx, that under socialism the division of working time into necessary and surplus time in their specific sense loses meaning, since all working time becomes necessary, while surplus time in the former sense for the most part assumes the form of free time,[13] becomes clear. When delimiting necessary and surplus time in their specific meaning the significance of free time as a genuine resource of society, which depends not on the period of surplus time, but on labor productivity, is underestimated or is completely overlooked.

in their broad formulation the economy of working time and the increase of labor productivity "work" directly for the planning of social development, finding a continuation, in particular, in the social efficiency of production, which along with economic efficiency forms the underlying and main aspect of the efficiency of social production. It is a matter, consequently, not of the simple enrichment of the criterion of production efficiency with social features, but of a fundamentally new interpretation of its essence and the role of such an interpretation for planning.[14]

The use of the law of value in social planning also makes necessary the considerable reinterpretation of the mechanism of its effect: the link, which is connected with the expenditures of labor on the production of the product, needs to be supplemented with a link which connects the expenditures of labor with the reproduction of man. In the latter case it is not simply the value of the product, but the social needs of people which become equal to the socially necessary working time. Moreover, precisely the needs of people for one product or another determine the working time necessary for its production. The socially necessary working time as the basis of value here, consequently, acquires a new meaning: having been linked with the reproduction of man by means of the meeting of his physical and spiritual needs, it determines not simply the value of the product and the conditions of its conventional production, but also the conditions of consumption production, that is, the conditions of consumption. As to the product, in this mechanism it appears from the direction of its new social form--the use value. "The social need, that is, the use value on a social scale--this is what determines here the proportion of all social time, which falls to the various specific spheres of production. And this is the very same law, which is revealed with respect to an individual commodity, namely: the use value of a commodity is a prerequisite of its exchange value, and therefore of its value."[15]

Working time becomes necessary precisely in the sense of the reproduction of man, since a certain amount of time is required to meet the given social needs. Accordingly the comparison of the use value of products with the known social need for them, and then with the expenditures of labor--this is what the law of value is transformed into, when it is freed of the functions of the law of exchange value. In essence it coincides with the law of the planned and proportionate distribution of labor in conformity with the needs of man and society. The adequacy of a certain amount of use values to a quantitatively determined social need[16] and the proportionate allocation of working time from its total amount in conformity with these needs become its requirement.

Planning, which has been reduced to the regulation of the production of a product in the form of an exchange value, usually does not cover the law which unites the use value of the product and its consumption with the production of a comprehensively developed individual. Therefore the conformity of the plan to the goal of socialist production depends in many ways on one social form or another of the production, which is stipulated by the plan. The difficulties and negative consequence of the planning of the

product in value indicators, for example, are not accidental: in this case the consumer purpose of the product and its social utility are inadequately taken into account. The 25th CPSU Congress especially emphasized the need to envisage in plans indicators which lead to the conformity of the product being produced to social needs. "Administrative and first of all planning activity," L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress, "should be aimed at /the end national economic results"[17]/ /in boldface/.

Hence follows a very important assumption: production, which functions for the creation of use values, inevitably makes the development of man its last result. The transformation of the initial form of wealth--the aggregate of use values--into the highest form, that is, the form of a developed man and society, is the main point of socialist production, the dominant trend of its progress.

Therefore the realization of the goal of socialist production does not reduce to the fact that the produced product finds its consumer. It is also important that it should conform to reasonable social interests, the meeting of which would lead to the improvement of the physical and spiritual capabilities of man, to the formation and improvement of the socialist way of life. This is one of the main features of mature socialism, which is embodied in the solution of the tasks of the recent five-year plans. The further increase of the well-being of the workers, the improvement of the conditions of their work and daily life and considerable progress in public health, education and culture are creating real opportunities for solving the main socio-economic problems of socialist society, that is, they are leading to all that which /"is conducive to the formation of a new man, the comprehensive development of the individual and the improvement of the socialist way of life"[18]/ /in boldface/.

The thorough accomplishment of these tasks presumes, however, that the product of the immediate process of production would finally be freed of its commercial "clothing," having retained as the only and universal social form merely the form of the social use value. For the present it remains commercial or "semicommercial," its use value might not conform to the reasonable needs and might contradict the development of man, since its exchange value might come to the forefront.

In this respect capitalism has left us much that is negative: in the process of increasing the surplus value it gave rise to and imposed on society a large number of distorted needs, which have nothing in common either with the nature of man or with social progress. Many consumer items underwent mass dissemination not because they have a utility (vodka, tobacco and so forth), but only due to the small amount of the expenditures necessary to derive a profit. It is quite obvious that in a socialist society, where man functions as the goal of production, unreasonable needs should be overcome and at the same time the production of the corresponding consumer items should be curbed. In the USSR the amount of wealth, which does not acquire a commercial form and is intended not for the deriving of a profit, but for public consumption, is growing with each year.

Planning should not be limited only to the establishment of the output of a volume of a product, that is, to how much of this product and of what quality the country, an oblast, a rayon, a sector and an enterprise provide to the common production and personal consumption fund. Planning also has a second aspect: not only the "contribution" to the national economy, but also that portion of the common fund, which is withdrawn from it and is consumed by the country, a given republic, oblast, rayon and enterprise for its own economic and social development, are determined. It is necessary to take into account not only the statewide need for the functioning and development of certain regions or others, but also the interests of the local population.[19]

On the scale of the entire society and in the state plans this aspect of planning is represented in the indicators of the consumption fund, the wage fund, the average monetary wage of workers and employees, the pay of kolkhoz farmers, the real per capita income and so on. As to the realization of these indicators on the level of the republic, the oblast, the city, the rayon and the enterprise, it is achieved by social planning, which is called upon to subordinate "consumption production" to the development of the individual and the improvement of the socialist way of life.

Such is the means of adapting the system of planning to the ultimate goal of the social process of socialist production. Thus, for example, the drafted plan of the economic and social development of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast for 1976-1980, by providing for the realization of the main task of the 10th Five-Year Plan, makes it possible to define concretely and to place on a planned basis the fulfillment of the aim of the entire society. In the plan, in particular, the level of the real per capita income for Leningrad and the oblast is specified (an increase of more than 20 percent), the placement into operation of 12 million m^2 of living space (in Leningrad), the construction of 28 (in Leningrad) and 14 (in the oblast) out-patient and polyclinical institutions are envisaged and so on. Taking into account the conditions of the city and the oblast, the plan sets the task to provide the population by 1980 with nurseries and kindergartens and to overcome the unwarranted difference in the conditions of the work and relaxation of the workers of enterprises of the different ministries.

An even more specific and direct "yield" of man is contained in the plans of the economic and social development of the collectives of industrial enterprises and associations. That which can be done for the development of the individual on the level of society, is really accomplished through regional planning and the plans of the social development of enterprises. Therefore, in our opinion, it is impossible to agree with the opinion that it is impossible to set the task of the comprehensive development of the individual in local plans, that it is achieved only within the framework of the entire society.[20] On the contrary, by means of regional plans and the plans of enterprises the goal of the state plan in essence is set by the task, which is being solved with respect to each worker and his family, and, consequently, is achieved not as the development of the "average" person, but as the improvement of the given individual. The workers of the

Leningrad Optical-Mechanical Association and the members of their families, for example, enjoy the services of the plant Pioneer camps, kindergartens (with the placement into operation of a new kindergarten the needs of the collective for children's preschool institutions are in practice being met in full), holiday centers (including two-day winter and summer centers), summer houses, a holiday hotel in Sochi, a polyclinic and hospital, three clubs, a canteen, a vocational and technical school and so on.[21] The workers of the association consume a considerable portion of the physical and spiritual wealth not in the form of goods or paid services, but use them directly as public property, the collective consumption fund. Owing to this the collective social relations are being reproduced on a more and more extensive scale, which is also the end result of the social process of production.

The conclusions from what has been said are as follows: a) only the understanding of production as the reproduction of the developed man can be the basis of the planning of economic and social development in their unity; b) production, which is understood in this way, makes it possible to represent the social and the economic as links of the same laws; c) the inclusion in the mechanism of the effect of laws, which are known by the name of economic links, which characterize the process of social production, makes it possible to use these laws as tools of not only economic, but also social planning.

The realization of the unity of the economic and the social in the process of planning presumes first of all a "yield" of the end social results, more precisely, of the transformation of the social product into social results, which is regulated in a planned manner.[22] By the latter we mean the results of social development, according to which the levels or stages, which are achievable by socialist society both as a whole and in the formation of the new man and the new way of life, are evaluated. The new society, which has achieved a mature state; the Soviet way of life; the Soviet man, the 25th CPSU Congress stated, were such results of the 60 years of development of the USSR.

The trend toward the end social results presumes that in the sections of the plans on social development and in the socio-economic programs the level achieved in overcoming the socio-economic differences is specified, the specific tasks and deadlines on equalizing the status of classes and social groups according to certain indicators or others are laid down. Accordingly all the main plan indicators of socio-economic development are calculated with allowance made for the social class aspect, that is, not only the common interests of the population, but also the specific interests of classes and social groups are taken into account.

It seems possible and necessary to encompass by the planning mechanism the process of overcoming the socio-economic differences between the city and the countryside and for this purpose to envisage in the plans specific assignments on the achievement by the rural population of a certain level with respect to the indicators of the life of the urban population. For example,

it is stipulated by the plan to equalize by some year the pay of agricultural workers with the pay of the corresponding categories of workers of industry, while during some period to achieve in agriculture, let us say, 90 percent of the level of pay in industry. In conformity with this the amounts of investments in agriculture are specified in order to achieve a proportionate increase of the productivity of agricultural labor on the basis of its mechanization. Such specific assignments could also be established (with allowance made for the territorial principle) with respect to other socio-economic indicators: the service of the rural population by the cinema network, libraries, medical institutions and so on.

The process of overcoming the substantial differences between workers of mental and physical labor is no less important an object of socio-economic planning. In this area the level of income of people of mental and physical labor, the provision with living space and the receipt of other social benefits could be covered by planned regulation.[23]

Without touching upon the specific means of planning the processes of obliterating social class differences, it is nevertheless necessary to say that these processes cannot be represented as the consequences of economic development, which are not definable in their specific form. Here it is appropriate to recall the words of V. I. Lenin about the fact that along with the triumph of socialism we received "an opportunity, which is quite rare in history, to establish the periods which are necessary for making radical social changes...."[24] The experience of building socialism in our country in turn attests to the making of social transformations during specific historical periods by measures which have been implemented in a deliberate and planned manner.

The considerable reduction of the amount of difficult physical labor can be regarded as a priority social problem, which is liable to inclusion in the programs of the forthcoming five-year and long-range plans. Here the improvement of the conditions of labor and the increase of its skills level are necessary not in themselves, but should be used as means of overcoming the socio-economic differences between people and social class groups.

The regulation of the pattern of consumption and of the processes of meeting social and spiritual needs is becoming an important area of social planning. Here the changes in the distribution of the population by groups depending on income and the equalization of classes and social groups with respect to the amount of per capita income and income per family member with an overall increase of the level of income are the object of influence of planning.

In this connection the achievement of equality first of all in the level of satisfaction of reasonable, vitally necessary demands according to scientifically sound norms and the corresponding restriction of the consumption of items and services, which do not conform to the reasonable demands and the task of developing the individual, seem possible. The reduction of the production of the latter and the increase of the amount of vitally

necessary consumer goods and services up to the scientifically sound norms will inevitably lead to the overcoming of the economic differences in consumption.

The acceleration of social development and the obliteration of socio-economic differences can be achieved by the increase of the proportion of social, spiritual wealth, since the distribution of the latter to a considerable extent takes place free of charge. The representatives of the different social groups of the population in the consumption of social spiritual wealth are acquiring more and more equal opportunities, which is conducive to the convergence of their social status. However, here it is impossible to limit oneself to only an increase of the amount of social and spiritual wealth being produced, it is also important to form needs for wealth and services of this type. It happens that the social and spiritual values being offered do not find consumers due to the lack of preparation of people for their acceptance or assimilation.

This serious social problem can be solved both by an increase of the free time of workers and by its rational filling. The use of free time can be just as successfully subordinate to scientific thoughts as can the consumption of foodstuffs and the satisfaction of the needs of the human body.

The rate and periods of the solution of social problems, which are outlined by plans, in the end are accomplished by people, by their active participation in social development. Therefore, the increase of the effectiveness of activity in the social area is of no less importance than the increase of the efficiency of social production. Just as the task of intensifying physical production required the implementation of major measures in the area of production control, so the problem of increasing the effectiveness of the social activity of workers gives rise to the need for the radical improvement of the control of social processes and their planning.

The creation in the plans of a consolidated section on social development, in which the social indicators (which at times are scattered among various sections) could be brought together, seems expedient. The existing consolidated plan of the increase of the standard of living of the people, while being an important achievement of the practice of social planning, still does not cover all social processes and cannot serve as their generalized expression.

The movement of the social product, which is intended for meeting the needs of people, within the phase of consumption, that is, the second type, which is unlike the physical type of social production--consumption production--might be the common objective basis, on which the indicators of social development can be united.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "O dal'neyshem sovershenstvovanii khozyaystvennogo mekhanizma i zadachakh partiynykh i gosudarstvennykh organov. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS

ot 12 iyulya 1979 goda. Ob uluchshenii planirovaniya i usilenii vozdeystviya khozyaystvennogo mekhanizma na povysheniye effektivnosti proizvodstva i kachestva raboty. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS i Soveta Ministrov SSSR ot 12 iyulya 1979 g." /On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 12 July 1979. On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 12 July 1979/, Moscow, 1979, pp 8, 20.

2. See M. Bor, S. Logvinov, V. Palekha, "The Social Aspect of Planning," PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, No 9, 1977, p 132.

3. Ibid., p 133.

4. See V. G. Podmarkov, "Social Planning: Experience and the Specific Nature," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1979, p 22.

5. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 25, Part II, p 385.

6. Ibid., Vol 46, Part I, p 386.

7. Ibid., p 27.

8. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 55, p 166.

9. Ibid., Vol 46, p 30.

10. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, Part II, p 221.

11. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, Part I, p 117.

12. See V. N. Kashin, "Poznaniye i ispol'zovaniye ekonomicheskikh zakonov pri sotsializme" /The Knowledge and Use of Economic Laws Under Socialism/, Moscow, 1975, p 76.

13. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, Part I, p 110.

14. See A. A. Sergeyev, "The Socio-Economic Efficiency of Social Production," VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 3, 1975, p 88.

15. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 25, Part II, p 186.

16. The representatives of the theory of optimum planning, which justly linking the concept of socially necessary time with the conditions of consumption, unfortunately do not connect the latter with the production of the developed man. At best they are willing to enter free time in the total of "consumption benefits," worrying only that such benefits would be consumed in the name of optimality and would not remain unnecessary.

17. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 59.

18. Ibid., p 40.

19. See A. V. Dmitriyev, M. N. Mezhevich, "Comprehensive Planning in Cities," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1976, p 59.

20. See V. G. Podmarkov, "Social Planning: Achievements and Unsolved Problems," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 1, 1976, p 20.

21. See LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 7 January 1977.

22. A. Smirnov writes correctly about this. See A. Smirnov, "Vital Questions of Social Planning," PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, No 1, 1975, p 43.

23. The need for the subordination of the system of education, especially higher education, to the task of overcoming the differences in the cultural and technical level of people of mental and physical labor and of equalizing the educational and cultural level of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia is becoming more and more urgent. The need is arising to offer the classes and social groups of our society not only an equal secondary general education, but also an equal higher education.

24. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 45, p 385.

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AN ATTEMPT AT A TYPOLOGY OF THE INDICATORS OF THE WAY OF LIFE OF SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 34-42

/Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Igor' Vasil'yevich Bestuzhev-Lada, chief of the Sector of Social Forecasting of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The extensive use of scientifically sound indicators, which make it possible to take into account the efficiency, quality and other characteristics of socialist social production, is envisaged in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality." The problem of further improving the system of social indicators, which reflect the corresponding aspects of the development of Soviet society, is arising before sociologists. This problem stems, first of all, from the urgent need to broaden the group of indicators with the inclusion in it of a number of aspects not only of the economy as such, but also of social and national relations, culture and education, the family and the way of life (demography in general), urban development (settlement in general), ecology, various domestic political aspects and so on; second, from the need for the integration of indicators of an economic nature, on the one hand, and of a sociological, demographic and ecological nature, on the other.

Owing to this the importance of the indicated problem goes beyond socioeconomic statistics and extends to the entire area of the scientific substantiation of socialist planning, the control of social processes in general. "The entire system of indicators, which are the basis for the activity of ministries, associations and enterprises, and first of all the efficiency and quality of their work, requires improvement," it was indicated in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress. "These indicators are called upon to unite the interests of the worker with the interests of the enterprise, the interests of the enterprise with the interests of the state."[1]

Indeed, under the conditions of the development of the planned socialist economy, which is aimed at the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the

workers, socio-economic indicators acquire the nature of one of the decisive factors in planning and management. Under existing conditions the orientation of the work of industrial and agricultural enterprises, institutions of cultural and personal services, educational institutions, the state machinery and public organizations--an orientation, which quite recently was much more strictly determined by the conditions of the socio-economic development of the country, but which now, under the conditions of mature socialism, is being afforded a real opportunity for an alternate transformation on the basis of the manipulation of resources which previously did not exist--depends to a greater and greater extent on the effectiveness of the indicators.

In implementing the directives of the 25th CPSU Congress, the USSR Central Statistical Administration with the participation of a number of scientific institutions has begun the development and adoption of a system of indicators of the comprehensive study of social phenomena and processes. In it provision is made for classification by sex, age, level of education, social affiliation and other characteristics. Such a system of indicators makes it possible to carry out more completely the comprehensive analysis of the course of fulfillment of the social program outlined by the congress. In this connection the special study of the methodological principles of the construction of the system of indicators of the way of life of Soviet society is becoming especially urgent.[2]

The way of life of society, in the interpretation, which was used by us, of this scientific cateogry as the set of forms of the vital activity of people,[3] encompasses practically all the most important aspects of the functioning and development of society, including the sphere of labor, daily life, culture and sociopolitical life. Moreover, this conception of the way of life presumes the examination of the indicators of the vital activity of society in fundamental unity with the indicators of the conditions of vital activity, which are expressed by the categories of the standard of living, the quality and style of life. Otherwise it is impossible to identify the causes, the essence of the observable trends and the prospects of the activity of people, that is, the category "the way of life" becomes obviously trivial on the level of concrete social (including both economic and sociological) research and absolutely useless in the sense of the promotion of an increase of the scientific substantiation of plans, programs, projects and management decisions. But such a versatility and complexity of the social phenomenon being studied inevitably entail a substantial increase of the number of indicators.

The first attempts of Soviet sociologists to model the way of life of society date from 1972-1974. They concluded with the construction of systems, which included 200-300 and more indicators. The incompleteness of these systems was obvious, which led to an increase of the number of indicators to 700-900 and more, but all the same it was not possible to achieve the required completeness. Sociologists of the CSSR developed a system which consists of more than 2,500 indicators.

This search in the purely scientific respect is of considerable interest, making it possible to reveal newer and newer features of the quantitative evaluation of various aspects of the way of life. However, for the practice of social planning and control this means is practically unacceptable, since, first, in this case the spending on state statistics increases substantially, second, the work with indicators is complicated excessively, third, the phenomenon of the "excessiveness" of social information occurs and finally, fourth, a system is created, which is alternative to the prevailing state statistics and differs qualitatively from it, while the directly opposite task is being set--not the revision of the existing system, but the increase of its effectiveness.

Such a statement of the question raises the problem of finding specific means of determining and achieving the "necessary minimum" of indicators. This, in turn, presumes the performance of preliminary theoretical and applied research--the object of the measurement is too complex and the danger of subjectivism of the evaluation is too great. In essence, such work is still only beginning.

On the basis of the study of Soviet and foreign experience we identified seven possible methods of constructing a system of indicators of the way of life, which have more or less been tested in practice: 1) the comparative analysis of the existing systems; 2) the analysis of the content of the literature on these problems; 3) a survey of experts (personal); 4) a survey of experts (by correspondence); 5) a survey of the population (a check of the effectiveness of the indicators); 6) a method, which combines (2) and (4), has been conditionally called "a simulated survey of experts" and reduces to the processing of a certain block of information (the analysis of literature, a survey of experts by correspondence); 7) modeling.

The study had as a goal not the construction of a system of indicators as such, but the elaboration of scientific recommendations with respect to possible means of improving the existing systems. Of course, its center of gravity fell to the analysis, designing and testing of the above-enumerated methods.

The work which was done made it possible to come to the following fundamental conclusions.

1. The comparative analysis is the least labor-consuming and the most effective in the sense of the reliability of the results, but the opportunities to use it at present are very limited, since the existing typologies of the indicators of the way of life of society are imperfect and comparatively few and to a considerable extent duplicate each other. The information obtained by means of this method--which is valuable in itself--cannot at all lay claim not only to comprehensiveness, but even adequate completeness with respect to any of the aspects of the way of life. As a result this method can be effective only in combination with others.

2. The analysis of the corresponding literature is much more labor-consuming, but the obtained information is considerably more complete and affords extensive opportunities for conclusions of an heuristic nature (which are especially valuable when constructing new indicators). The weak point of this method is not the laboriousness, but the quality of the literature at our disposal: the overwhelming majority of the works on the problems of the way of life are organized in such a way that it is difficult to derive from the text anything specific and meaningful in connection with a possible transformation into an indicator, hence the low "efficiency" of the efforts being exerted. All this gave rise to the need for a serious modification of the existing methods of analyzing literature as applied to the peculiarities of the study which was undertaken. This method can also be used only in combination with others.

3. The personal survey of experts in laboriousness in fact is equal to the comparative analysis and theoretically is almost as effective. However, the lack of experts of the appropriate degree of competence makes itself felt in practice, since the problems of the way of life are comparatively new. Experience has shown that even an adequately competent group of experts works with a satisfactory efficiency only with a panel survey, that is, at least with a third or fourth session, when the "effect of self-instruction" begins to tell, and then only if the experts prepare thoroughly enough for each session. Accordingly, one-time surveys of experts "taken unawares," especially by the commission method, are obviously useless. First, the thorough preliminary preparation of experts of any level of competence (acquaintance with the literature, reports, discussions, seminars and so forth), second, a minimum of two to three preliminary surveys, which play the role of "dress rehearsals," and, third, the complication of the survey methods are required. We developed and used a modification of the method of destructive classed appraisal, which makes it possible to combine the advantages of the critical approach (destruction) and the heuristic approach (coordinated construction) within the methods of "counter brainstorming" and "brainstorming." Of course, all this considerably increases the laboriousness of the personal survey, but at the same time also its effectiveness.

4. The survey by correspondence requires greater expenditures of time and effort both at the stage of the preparation and conducting of the survey and in the processing of the results. Its advantages are the precision and reliability of the appraisals, as well as the possibility of involving a large number of experts. The same shortcomings are typical of it as are typical of the personal survey, therefore the use of one of the versions of the Delphi technique (more precisely, its domestic modification--the collective generation of ideas) is the most effective: two or three rounds enable adequately prepared experts to use the effect of "self-instruction" and to a considerable extent to overcome deviations of a subjective nature when correlating the appraisals. It is clear that this method also cannot be recognized as universal.

5. As the experience of conducting the study showed, in this case the survey of the population cannot be used as a method of obtaining information directly for the transformation of the latter into indicators. But it is irreplacable as a tool for testing one of the indicators being planned or another: it is possible by this means to obtain directly or indirectly data which reliably attest to the degree of practical effectiveness of the majority of types of social indicators.

6. The simulated survey of experts combines not only the merits, but also the shortcomings of the analysis of the literature and the survey of experts by correspondence. It is useful, judging from the experience of the study, only as an auxiliary method and only in those instances when a clearly defined and adequately compact information file of a high degree of meaningfulness is available. Its main advantage is the relatively great reliability of the appraisals which, as a rule, take the form of carefully considered statements of the authors.

7. The modeling of the way of life--theoretically the most economical, reliable and in many respects the most effective method--unfortunately, so far can be used only in a limited number of instances and only as an experiment, since the overwhelming majority of elements of the way of life as a scientific category still do not have a theoretical and methodological basis, which is adequate for the formalization of the corresponding concepts and their transformation on this basis into indicators. The thorough theoretical elaboration, as well as the systematization of social problems and the appropriate social goal-setting should precede the practical application of this method. In this connection the conducting of the appropriate basic research seems expedient.

The analysis of 53[4] existing systems of indicators of the way of life, Soviet and foreign scientific and journalistic literature on the corresponding problems and several series of personal surveys and surveys by correspondence of experts made it possible to draw the following preliminary conclusions:

1) the overwhelming majority of systems of indicators of the way of life of society are stereotypic and can be divided into compact and detailed systems. The compact systems usually contain four blocks of indicators of the way of life as such (labor, daily life, public life, culture and education) and a block of indicators of living conditions (primarily on the level of the standard of living); the detailed systems contain 8-10 blocks of indicators of the way of life as such (primarily by the distinction as independent blocks of the family and daily life, education and culture, public life and antisocial phenomena and so on), one or two blocks of the style of life (value orientations and so forth) and four to six blocks of living conditions (as a rule, on the level of not only the standard of living, but also the quality of life). The deviations from these two stereotypes are negligible both as to content and as to number.

A comparison shows that the "miniature" systems--for example, those limited to two or three blocks (labor, daily life, public life and culture)--suffer from incompleteness and one-sidedness. On the other hand, the "giant" systems, which include 18-20 and more blocks, are too labor-consuming, yield a "surplus" of information and are ineffective in the applied sense. Experience shows that the use of such typologies is theoretically and practically useful only if some one or several aspects of the way of life interest researchers or planners, and therefore it is necessary to break down the corresponding blocks. When studying the way of life as a whole such "fluxes" only distort the overall picture;

2) the study of the internal structure of each of the examined blocks made it possible to identify certain laws of their division in the case of the development of compact systems into detailed systems and, on the contrary, their consolidation in the opposite case. On this basis the following specific recommendations were elaborated:

it is most feasible to carry out the construction of a detailed typology of the indicators of the way of life of society by the "propogation" from the standard compact stereotype of those new blocks which correspond to the most urgent social problems of the way of life of the given society. Thus, for example, in the 14-block system, which was developed at the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the block of marriage and the family was specially distinguished from the block of daily life, the block of education--from the block of culture, since, according to the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, serious work has to be done on its improvement, the block of national relations, as well as antisocial phenomena--from the block of sociopolitical life and so on.

Beyond these limits, as was already said, the distinction of only one or several blocks, which confers to some special goal of the study, is permissible, and the introduction of blocks of indicators of those social phenomena, which by their nature are of the same order as the way of life and simply cannot be reduced to any of its aspects (for example, scientific and technical progress, the mode of production, population and so forth), is totally inadmissible. The violation of these rules leads to the distortion of the system, sharply reduces its effectiveness in the sense of the reflection of the true picture of the way of life;

it is most feasible to carry out the construction of a compact system of indicators of the way of life of society on the basis of the corresponding stereotype: labor, daily life, culture (including education) and public life plus material well-being (the standard of living). Of course, for the purpose of imparting greater compactness to the typology it is possible to bring the indicators of labor and daily life or culture and daily life together in one block, but here all five of the enumerated components should be included in the system;

the specific selection of blocks, which are combined in the framework of the minimum and the maximum, should be made in conformity with the goal and tasks of the theoretical study being undertaken or practical planning and management work. In our opinion, it would be incorrect to "decree" as the only possible stereotypes just the compact and the detailed stereotypes. They form only specific cores, guidelines, frameworks of specific developments, which have been elaborated by experience.

b) the study of the versions of the individual indicators, which are presented in the systems being compared, the literature being analyzed or those proposed by experts, makes it possible to make progress in the matter of typologizing social indicators--one of the most underdeveloped areas of sociological research. The special examination of this question was not a part of our task. The goal was different--to identify the types of indicators, which are used most often in the practice of research and planning, so that it would then be possible to elaborate more confidently scientific recommendations on the further improvement of information systems. In all during the study 17 special types of indicators, which are designated in this article by letters in the order of the Russian alphabet (with the omission of the letters which are like numbers), were identified.

Type A--the simple numerical absolute type (for example, the size of the population). This is the simplest and least labor-consuming indicator, which is suitable only in those instances when the comparative historical context of the information file being studied is well known.

Type B--the simple numerical relative type (for example, the number of televisions per 1,000 people), which is also comparatively nonlabor-consuming, but the same restrictions exist on its use as exist on the use of the preceding type.

Type V--the simple percentage type (the proportion in percent), one of the most effective among the simplest indicators.

Type G--the dynamic percentage type (for example, the rate of development as a percent of the preceding year), it is among the simplest and is useful in identifying the dynamics of the change in any indicator, but beyond the limits of this task it is ineffective, and its abuse reduces the informativeness of the system of indicators.

Type D--the average numerical absolute type (for example, the average of wages), it is more labor-consuming than the preceding types, since it is not always easy to calculate the average in sociology, but then it is more informative, since it provides more material for generalizations and comparisons. True, the area of use of this type, like the preceding type, is very limited.

Type E--the complex percentage type (for example, the correlation of the proportions in percent in the structure of the population), it is the most prevalent among the complex indicators.

Type Б--the complex numerical relative type (for example, the correlation of the number of apartments in the state, cooperative and private sector), it is irreplaceable in those instances when a percentage correlation is practically impossible or troublesome. In particular, this pertains to the correlation of objects of a different quality. In all other instances type Е as the most informative type is preferable, in connection with which it is used considerably more extensively.

Type Д--the index, the most labor-consuming and most informative type, which so far is used inadequately in the systems of social indicators.

Type К--the standard relative type (the level of approximation to some preset value-norm, for example, the level of nutrition as compared with the scientifically sound norms), it requires the preliminary standard elaboration of the corresponding social object. It is highly effective, especially in the formulation of the social forecast, plan, program, project, in goal-setting, in the making of an organizational decision. The work with this type of indicators is just beginning.

Type Б--the point type (the evaluation in points). Points in the system of social indicators will hardly become significantly widespread, since their construction is a very labor-consuming procedure, while the area of application is limited.

Type М--the dynamic balance type, which in essence is a special modification of type Г. In this case the status of some phenomenon is evaluated according to the principle "less-more" (for example, the balance of population migration: in some region in some year it was so many percent or thousands of residents more or less).

Type Н--the standard percentage type, which in essence is a unique "hybrid" of types В and К and is free of the shortcomings characteristic of them. Here not some preset value, but 100 percent, which is regarded either as the initial level or as the maximum level, is taken as the norm. Accordingly the indicator is formulated either as, for example, 115 percent of the level of the base year, or as 15 percent of the approximation of the established 100-percent norm. It is important not to replace this type by type Г, but to base the system of indicators on the preliminary standard problem elaboration of the object being studied.

Type Р--the average numerical relative type (for example, the average number of those being served per person providing service), it is very close in its features to type Д, although it does not coincide with it.

Type С--the sociological type. In essence, these are the same simple or complex relative indicators, but they have been obtained not as a result of the analysis of information files, as is customary in statistics, but by means of surveys of the population (in this case the distinction was made according to a special criterion, an entire series of corresponding subtypes is implied). This type is extremely effective, but also very labor-consuming.

Type Г--the extreme type, which shows the correlation of the minimum and maximum value (for example, wages).

Type Д--the correlation type (for example, the correlation of the number of those employed in agriculture and the volume of production produced by them).

Type У--the cohort type, which in essence is a special modification of type Е. The correlation in predetermined groups, for example, the percentage distribution of income among different social groups, is meant.

The last three types are extremely complex and labor-consuming with a limited area of their application.

We have enumerated only the special types of indicators, which were encountered during the study, without touching upon the general (and well-known) types. Obviously, there should be considerably more of them, but, in order to reduce this special typology to a specific system, a special study is required. Such a study is all the more necessary as social (sociological) indicators are considerably inferior in their qualitative characteristics to scientific, technical, economic and demographic indicators.

In the examined systems of social indicators five special types--А, Б, В, Е and Ж (simple numerical, absolute and relative, simple and complex percentage, complex numerical relative)--account for nearly two-fifths, and about two-thirds of them pertain to type В. The proportion of types А, Б, Е, Ж is one-half to one-third as much (roughly 10-15 percent), types Г, Д, С--2-3 percent, types И, К, Н, Т--0.5-1 percent, types М, Р, Х--less than 0.5 percent.

From this it follows that, as a rule, only the simplest special types of indicators, according to which it is comparatively easy to obtain information, are used in the existing systems, but its level is inadequately high for it to be possible to make the generalizations and conclusions, which are necessary in theoretical or practical work. The most prevalent method is the calculation of the percentage. Of course, with the proper organization of matters this indicator tells the researcher or practical worker much more than simply an absolute number, but still considerably less than the more complex (and, consequently, more labor-consuming) types. In particular, inadequate attention is being devoted to the calculation of averages, to structural indicators, to the correlation and cohort approaches and to the use of sociological methods.

The analysis showed that the historical approach--the examination of the specific features of the creation of one typology or another--should precede the logical approach to the study of systems of indicators in the aggregate of their components. Only the combination of both approaches can yield adequately complete information on the system being studied, avoid one-sidedness and incompleteness in its evaluation and identify its strong points.

In turn the approach to the construction of systems should combine as integrally as possible the structural and problem principles. The former presumes the adequate completeness of the set of blocks of indicators in conformity with the structure of the object being studied. The latter presumes the focusing of attention on that problem, for the sake of whose solution the system of indicators is being created. In other words, the maximum disaggregation of the very indicators and their blocks in the main directions of theoretical or practical work and just as maximum an aggregation in the "background," auxiliary directions are implied. The violation of each of these principles is fraught with a decline of the informativeness and in general of the effectiveness of the systems of indicators. The rational deviations (in conformity with the goal of one study or another) from the standard compact or detailed system of indicators are governed precisely by their combination.

Finally, the selection of the specific indicators of each block of the way of life should conform as fully as possible to the principles of systemicity, representativeness, adequacy, informativeness (distinctiveness), interpretability (meaningfulness), standardness, comparability, validity, effectiveness, economicalness, deducibility, universality and functionality, which have been elaborated in detail in sociological literature. This means that the choice of indicators cannot be random, each of them should be a component of a certain system, which imparts to the operation of measurement a preset meaning, should reflect fully enough the features and nature of one aspect or another of the phenomenon being measured, should promote the distinct delimitation of the evaluations of the variable state of the latter, should provide adequate information for a content analysis, should conform to the adopted standards of measurement and should afford an opportunity for the comparison of the different states of the phenomenon or identical states of similar phenomena. The applicability of the indicator should be theoretically interpretable and so on. Without going into the examination of the features of these principles, let us merely indicate that they establish a quite strict framework for the selection of the indicators of the way of life.

The effective study of the various aspects of vital activity presumes the use of complex indicators. This especially pertains to those instances when the indicators are called upon to serve as one of the bases of scientific recommendations for the purposeful change of the way of life by means of forecasting, goal-setting, planning, programming, designing and organizational decisions.

Thus, the data on the correlation of the mental and physical, manual and mechanized types of labor can give an idea about the nature and content of it as the most important aspect of the way of life of people. The budget of time gives valuable information on the proportion of all types of activity without exception. The average number of children in the family illustrates well one of the most important domestic aspects of the way of life, the average per capita number of books, which are issued by libraries and are sold by stores (in this case we are abstracting from the problem

situation which has formed at this time), illustrates one of the important aspects of culture. Sociological surveys of the population are able to clarify the attitude of people toward one type of activity or another. The correlation between public and production activeness, the ratio of the extreme groups with poorly and highly developed needs for social activity, the distribution of time for public work among different groups of workers--all these are effective indicators of the block "sociopolitical life."

The complex indicators are even more effective in solving questions of the further improvement of the way of life by means of socio-economic planning and the control of social processes. The degree of approximation to the leading standards or to scientifically sound norms, the dynamics of the structure, the relative standard (the proportion of those who have reached the level of the optimum), the absolute standard (the number of objects which are characteristic of one social norm or another, of the optimum) and so on--the use of all these characteristics yields good results when elaborating forecasts (especially standard forecasts), plans, programs and projects.

It is possible to agree with those specialist who believe that social indicators are not all the social statistics, but only that quantitatively small portion of them, by means of which social changes are measured, dynamic series are constructed for the comparison (in time and space) of the well-being of people and so on. Such an approach, on the one hand, directly links the system of social indicators with one aspect or another of the way of life of people or with the way of life as a whole and, on the other, makes extremely rigorous demands on each variable separately. In particular, when selecting them, as is evident from the analysis of the existing systems, it is necessary to establish: whether the information base is adequate for the practical use of the indicator, the degree of adequacy of the indicator to the essence of the object being studied, the possibility of its formalization (standardization), the degree of interdependence with the other indicators of the system, to what extent it conforms to the goals and tasks of theoretical or practical work, whether there is the opportunity to replace the given indicator if necessary with one just as effective, the potential of the indicator for distinctive and comparative operations when analyzing the results of the measurement and so on.

These and other criteria have been repeatedly discussed in special literature, special attention should be devoted to them when elaborating a scientific typology of the social indicators of the way of life of society.

The conversion to the new system of planning indicators, which is discussed in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality," will affect many important aspects of the way of life of Soviet society and will have a beneficial effect on the standard of living and the quality and style of life of the Soviet people. The further elaboration of the question of social indicators, which are capable of characterizing most adequately

these aspects of the life of society and of promoting an increase of the level of the plans of economic and social development, is one of the conditions of the optimization of this process.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 60.

2. The analysis of these questions is made on the basis of the experience of the study on the theme "Methodological Problems of the Construction of a System of Indicators of the Way of Life of Socialist Society," which was made in 1976-1979 by the Sector of Social Forecasting of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

3. See I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, "The Forecasting of the Way of Life," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1974, pp 60-61.

4. Including 12 Soviet systems, 6 systems of the other CEMA countries, 4 UN systems, 15 American systems, 13 systems of other developed capitalist countries and 3 systems of the developing countries.

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FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

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/Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Editor in Chief of PRAVDA Viktor Grigor'yevich Afanas'yev/

/Text/ Social systems are integral systems. Their main distinctive feature is that they have a new, integrative quality, which is not inherent in the components forming them and does not reduce to the sum of the attributes of these latter. "Just as," K. Marx wrote, "the forces of the attack of a cavalry squardon or the forces of resistence of an infantry regiment are significantly different from the sum of those forces of the attack and the resistance, which individual cavalrymen or infantrymen are capable of developing, so the mechanical sum of the forces of individual workers is just as different from the social force which is developed when many hands take part simultaneously in the performance of the same indivisible operation."[1] A new productive force, which is massive in its essence, is created in the cooperative (the system), while social contact itself, the interaction of the workers "creates competition... which increases the individual productivity of individuals."[2]

Along with the integrative quality the existence of components (from which the system is formed), a structure (how the components are interconnected) and functions (activeness, the activity of the system and its components), interaction with the environment, movement, development, purposefulness and self-control are inherent in the social system.

In the article being presented the functions of social systems will be discussed.

The concept "function" is used in the most different meanings. A function can mean activity or the capability of activity, a role, a property, a meaning, competence, a goal, the dependence of one value on another and so on.[4] Here a function is regarded as a form, a mode of the manifestation of activity, of the vital activity of the system and its components. "The different social functions," K. Marx wrote, "are modes of vital activity, which succeed each other."[5]

Functions are inherent in both the system and its components, and the functions of the system are the integrated result of the functioning of the components which form it.

The behavior of the system, which is dictated by the laws inherent in it, is expressed in its functions. On this behaviorial level organic systems are not just reactive, that is, they act under the influence of the external environment, but are first of all and primarily /active/ /in boldface/, influencing the environment and subordinating it to their interests. Biological, social and technical systems are notable for purposeful behavior.

"Most often," V. I. Kremyanskiy writes, "the type of active and, moreover, directed or in general purposeful activity of biological or social and technical systems and their parts is called a 'function'."[6]

Frequently the study of a system begins with the study of the functions, the manifestations of the activeness of the system outside. In this case, in the case of a purely functional approach, either a person does not care about what is happening within the system or he does not have the opportunity, the scientific and technical means to penetrate this internal thing of the system. This internal thing for a person acts as a "black box." The person fixes /what/ /in boldface/ is fed into the system and what result the system yields.[7] On this level the function of the system is in essence a reaction of the system to external influences, which "penetrate" the system through its "input." This reaction itself appears at the "output" of the system.

Of course, the functions of the system are richer, more diverse and more versatile than simply the result at the output. If the functions act only as a result, we are dealing with /unifunctional/ /in boldface/ systems, which in the organic and social world are a great rarity. Characteristic of this world are /multifunctional/ /in boldface/ systems, in which "...every system," as V. V. Druzhinin and D. S. Kontorov write, "performs certain functions--it simply exists, serves as an area of habitation of another system, serves a system of a higher order, is a control system for some class of systems, serves as a means or the basic material for the creation of an improved system and so forth."[8]

The concept of a function is close to the concept of a goal, they are closely interconnected. In society goals are set by the management of the system of a higher order, to which the given system belongs (for example, the enterprise belongs to the ministry). But it is worthwhile only to look at the goal of the given system (the enterprise) from the position of the system of a higher order (the ministry), to see how the goal of the system acts now as its function with respect to this latter system. As a component of a broader system the given system plays in it a certain specific role, performs a certain function. Not by chance is a system frequently understood as "a set of functional components which interact with each other in the name of the achievement of the set goal."[9]

The function of a system is a manifestation of the attributes, the qualities of the system in interaction with other objects of a systems and non-systems order, the expression of a certain relatively stable reaction of the system to a change in its internal state and its external environment, a reaction to disturbances from within and from without, an unusual specific mode of behavior of the system, a means of resolving the permanent contradiction between the system and the environment surrounding it. The functions of the system as a whole determine the functions, which each of its components performs in the system.

A functional dependence occurs between the individual components of this system; between the components and the system as a whole; between the system as a whole and another, broader system, of which it is itself a component.

"A /function/ /in boldface/ in its systems understanding," M. I. Setrov writes, "can be defined as that relationship of the part to the whole, in which the very existence or some type of manifestation of the part ensures the existence or some form of the manifestation of the whole."[10]

Each component, each part of the system performs in the system specific functions, which are aimed at its preservation, improvement and development, at the achievement of the systems result, and within a certain space and segment of time, in a certain rhythm and pace, with a certain speed. Some components function simultaneously, side by side, others function in sequence, one after the other. In other words, the functions of the components are coordinated in time and space.

The functions of the components with respect to the system are of an /expedient/ /in boldface/ nature, otherwise the component drops out of the system and becomes a foreign body for it. It is important to emphasize that the functions are "attached" to the components and are realized within the structure, the internal organization, which is inherent in the system. There are no and can be no pure functions, without their substantiational bearers, nor ones which do not belong to a certain structure. Changes in the nature of the components, in the character of their interaction (that is, in the structure) therefore inevitably cause the corresponding changes in the functions of both the components themselves and the system as a whole.

In the functional activeness of the components of the social system K. Marx saw their /relative independence/ /in boldface/ with respect to the system as a whole and characterized it as an "individual life" within the system. K. Marx thoroughly illustrated this "individual life" of the components with respect to the system using the example of the analysis of the functions of individual capital in aggregate, social capital.

The coordination and subordination of functions are distinguished. /Coordination/ /in boldface/ is the agreement of the functions of the components of the system horizontally. For example, the members of the brigade, the

brigades of the shop and the shops at the enterprise coordinate their activity. /Subordination/ /in boldface/ is the agreement of the functions vertically, the compliance of the function of some components to others and of all the components without exception to the system as a whole.

The subordination of the functions indicates, first, the particular /specific/ /in boldface/ place and different significance of each of the components in the realization of the functions of the system and, second, the fact that each given system, in integrating the functions of its own components, is itself fulfilling a certain functional role in another, more extensive and complex system, of which it is a component.

K. Marx examined, for example, the process of labor from the point of view of the functional subordination of the components of the integral system. The components of labor are: labor itself as the expenditure of manpower, the object of labor, that is, the object at which human labor is aimed, and the means of labor, first of all tools, by means of which man acts on the object of labor. The means of labor, their functions are the most important in the process of labor; the features of all other elements and, what is more, the economic epoch as a whole depend precisely on them. "Economic epochs," K. Marx wrote, "are distinguished not by what is produced, but by how it is produced, by what means of labor. The means of labor are not only a gauge of the development of human manpower, but also an indicator of those social relations, in which labor is performed."[11]

A change in the tools, the means of labor results in a change of labor itself and the labor functions of people and requires of them certain skills, habits. Since as the tools of labor are developed the worker transfers to machines a larger and larger portion of his functions on the processing of the object of labor, his functions depend on the nature of the tools, on how many and what functions a machine is capable of assuming.

With a change in the tools of labor the object of labor also changes, since with an improvement of the tools a larger and larger group of more and more diverse objects becomes the object of the processing, while in one object there is a greater and greater diversity of its aspects. In turn both the process of labor and its object influence the development of the tools: the improvement of labor functions and the finding of new objects of labor influence promote the development and improvement of the tools of production. Such is the functional subordination of the components of the process of labor as a specific system of a social order.

As is evident, the systems approach of K. Marx presumes the mandatory analysis of the functional relations of the system, the coordination and subordination of the functions. However, Marxism and Marxist dialectics do not absolutize functional relations, do not confine themselves only to them, as do such functionalists like T. Parsons, but go farther and deeper, revealing behind the functional relations the /causal relations/ /in boldface/.

T. Parsons understands society as a set of functionally connected variables, while ignoring other, more important parameters of social systems. Meanwhile, functional relations are not always causal relations. The main thing in the study of systems is the identification of their social determinateness, their causation.

The careful analysis of functional relations for the purpose of finding among them cause-effect relations is an indispensable requirement of the systems approach of K. Marx to the phenomena of social life. Production, from the point of view of K. Marx, determines all the other components of economics--distribution, exchange, consumption. Moreover, Marx showed that the determinate role of production is not limited to economics as such, but encompasses all areas, all spheres of social life. Production is that component of society as a system, which determines the place and influence of all other social forms. "This is a general interpretation, in which all other colors disappear and which modifies them in their peculiarities. This is a special ether, which determines the proportion of everything real which comes to light in it."[12]

In systems of a social order not mechanical, but much more complex forms of the causal relation--/nonlinear causation/ /in boldface/--occur. Here the cause and the effect frequently change places, while the cause itself through a series of direct and mediated relations experiences the retroaction of its own effect. Here the causal relation "system--component--system" is only one of the links of the general causation, of the universal interaction of the objects and phenomena of social activity.

Each of the social systems consists of a complex tangle, an interweaving of causal relations, interactions. Some components of systems of this type are linked causally directly with the system, they are more or less "responsible" for certain characteristics of the system or others. The "responsibility" of other components for the attributes of the system is of an indirect, mediated nature, while still others are connected with the system and quite indirectly. Nevertheless all the components, parts necessarily serve the system, the whole, and take it into account in their functions. In turn the system determines the components differently: it transforms some of them radically, it changes others negligibly. A causal relation exists not only between the system and the components or groups of components. The determination of the system by the conditions of the external environment and the reaction of the system to external conditions exist, which complicates to an even greater extent the nature of determination in the integral system.

Of course, in such a complex interweaving of causal relations both necessary and chance causes occur. In the study of social systems it is always found that some certain relation of its components remains constant in a broad area of the changes to which the components are subject. This constancy is /the necessity inherent in the system/ /in boldface/. These necessary relations of the components are a manifestation of the laws of causality, which operate in the area of the system being studied.

At the same time these necessary causal relations are interconnected with incidental influences and are manifested through these chance occurrences. Hence the onset of one effect or another, which is the result of the crossing, the collision of necessary and chance interactions, frequently assumes a /probabilistic/ /in boldface/ nature, especially as in systems of a social order along with one-to-one determinations one-to-many, many-to-one and many-to-many determinations also occur. The methods of statistics and probability theory make it possible to take into account the role and importance of random causes in the social system.

From what has been said it follows that systems of a social order are a capricious knot of functional and causal relations. The principle of systemicity, integrity in itself is by no means an "all-begetting" and "all-explaining" principle, as the advocates of idealistic philosophies of integrity imagine it. On the contrary, it requires an explanation itself and is fully explicable from the position of scientific determinism. The task of science in this connection is not to confine itself to an analysis of the structure or functions of the system, but, by using scientific methods, to unravel the most complex tangle of causal relations, the /laws of the functioning and development of the system/ /in boldface/, which is inherent in the system.

Let us dwell in more detail on these two types of laws.

First of all let us note that K. Marx and V. I. Lenin repeatedly indicated the need for the distinction of the laws of functioning and development in society. "Das Kapital" of K. Marx contains a brilliant example of the analysis of both the functional laws and the laws of development of capitalism. This analysis for capitalism at its imperialist stage found its logical continuation in V. I. Lenin's work "Imperializm kak vysshaya stadiya kapitalizma" /Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism/.

V. I. Lenin also noted the importance of distinguishing functional laws and the laws of development in earlier works than the one mentioned. Characterizing the socio-economic formation as a whole, first of all as a system of production relations, V. I. Lenin in the work "Ekonomicheskoye soderzhaniye narodnichestva i kritika yego v knige g. Struve" /The Economic Content of Populism and Its Criticism in the Book of Mr Struve/ showed that this system "is, according to the theory of Marx, a special social organism, which has special laws of its origination, functioning and transition to a higher form, its transformation into another social organism."[13] "The laws of the functioning and development" of the socio-economic formation as a system, V. I. Lenin wrote further, "yield to objective study."[14]

The functional laws characterize one or another socio-economic formation as a relatively stable system, which maintains its essential traits and qualitative determinateness for a certain, at times long, period of time. They reflect the structure of the system, its formation: the composition, the set of components, the procedure of vital activity and functioning, the space and time relations of the components of the system, its relationship

to other systems which are in a functional relation with it. In other words, functional laws are the laws of the movement of the social system within the given fundamental quality.

For example, the main economic law of socialism, which regulates the correlation of such important aspects of economic life as production, distribution and consumption, a correlation in which production and consumption are subordinate to the assurance of the more and more complete satisfaction of the needs of all members of society, is functional. This law is of a permanent nature, it will retain its force even under communism. The law of the coordinated (planned) management of the national economy and the development of society as a whole, which requires the establishment according to plan of certain proportions between the different spheres of social life, the sectors of the economy and culture, is also a functional law.

The law of value, which expresses the commodity-money relations objectively inherent in socialist society, is one of the important functional laws of socialism. "Here," K. Marx wrote, "obviously, the principle, which regulates the exchange of commodities, prevails, since the latter is the exchange of equal values. The content and form here have changed, because under the changed circumstances no one can give anything except his own labor and because, on the other hand, nothing except individual consumer commodities can turn into the property of individuals. But as to the distribution of the latter among individual producers, here the same principle as in the exchange of commodity equivalents prevails: some amount of labor in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labor in another."[15]

As is evident, having indicated the existence under socialism of the law of value and of commodity-money relations, K. Marx noted that they changed here both content and form, having maintained at the same time a functional, regulating importance.

This law requires that the prices for one product or another correspond to the socially necessary costs of production. And this means that the producers of commodities, whose role is performed by socialist enterprises, in conformity with this law are forced to see to it that the individual expenditures are lower than the socially necessary expenditures, since only in this case will they acquire additional gains, a surplus profit. Otherwise the enterprises lose economically to the extent to which their expenditures exceed the average social expenditures. The regulatory mechanism of the law of value consists, thus, in the fact that it stimulates the collectives of enterprises to reduce the expenditures.

The law of value and the categories connected with it--cost accounting, price, profit, credit and others--characterize the correlation between the expenditures and results of production and confirm the need to observe the principle of equivalency in the relations between the different links of the economy. Without consideration of cost categories it is practically impossible to establish the optimum proportions between accumulation and consumption, between the different sectors of the economy, in other words, it is impossible to effectively manage the economy.

When drafting and implementing national economic plans it is impossible not to take into account the distribution of working time among the sectors and its economy, which under socialism perforce are carried out in value form. The law of value and commodity production, which is based on it, under the conditions of socialism make it possible to determine the extent of conformity of the products of production to the needs, which has its concrete expression in their sale. In the process of sale the recognition (or nonrecognition) by society of the expenditures embodied in the commodity product takes place, and this once again is a necessary condition of the effective management of the economy. An increased demand for one product or another creates the need to increase its production, while nonrecognition on the market urgently requires the reduction of the production of this product and the bringing of its quantity and quality in line with social needs. The planned management of the economy also presumes the use of quantitatively sound indicators, the obtaining of which once again involves the consideration of value relations.

In noting the functional role of the law of value and commodity-money relations, as well as the categories connected with them, it should be emphasized particularly strongly that they are not elements of spontaneous regulation, as under capitalism, but means of the conscious, purposeful management of the economy of socialism. Under socialism the law of value plays the role of a regulator not spontaneously, but precisely within the statewide plan, through the planning principle. Therefore, all attempts at the comparison of the plan and the market are illegitimate.

Let us take, for example, a commodity. Under socialism the production of commodities, just as their sale on the market, is carried out according to a plan, not for the purpose of personal gain, but in the interests of society. Prices are just as systematically and consciously determined, but are not a product of market chaos, as under capitalism. Their function is the consideration of the expenditures of national labor and the assurance of effective proportions of socialist reproduction.

The profit has also undergone profound qualitative changes. It is well known that the pursuit of a profit is the motive force, the goal of production under capitalism, a universal form of exploitation and the appropriation of the surplus product. Under socialism the profit, although being one of the forms of the surplus product, belongs only to the workers and to no one else. A portion of the profit goes for the needs of the entire society, another portion goes for the needs of the enterprise and the collective. Hence the important role of the profit as a mighty lever of control, since it is not only an indicator of the efficiency of the operation of the enterprise, but also a stimulus in the development of the enterprise and in the increase of the efficiency of its operation. The profit thus acts as both a means of exercising the function of control and a means of stimulation. The strengthening of the role of the profit as a category of cost accounting, as a category which places under cost accounting the principle of the material interest of the collective of the enterprise and the individual workers, is an important means of developing the socialist economy.

The role in management of direct economic contacts, which are qualitatively different under socialism than under capitalism, where these contacts--the field of the fierce competitive struggle of entrepreneurs--are formed spontaneously, under the influence of market conditions, is great. Under socialism direct contacts are formed according to a plan and are the sphere of the sale of the produced products. They are the "transmission belt" between production and consumption, an indicator of the efficiency of the operation of an enterprise and of production as a whole, of its conformity to the needs of society, as well as the conformity of the quality of products to the best domestic and world examples.

Commodity-money relations under socialism cannot be idealized, because they also contain negative possibilities, which can--given inadequately effective planning and control--take the form of various types of antisocial phenomena. If, let us say, one enterprise or another instead of the improvement of the equipment and the processing method were to proceed for the purpose of obtaining greater accumulations along the line of pure commerce, it is also using commodity-money relations to the detriment of society. Only when commodity-money relations are used in strict conformity with the economic laws of socialism, and first of all the law of planned, proportionate development, in conformity with the principles of socialist management, do they acquire the role of a mighty lever of the management of the economy of the country.

By using commodity-money relations and the economic levers stemming from them, socialist society is called upon to subordinate them to the interests of society, the collective and the individual.

The economic laws of socialism, in regulating the correlations of the various spheres of social production, characterize the functioning of socialist society within the framework of the main qualitative features inherent in it. In themselves these laws do not result in radical qualitative changes in society, but constitute the "working mechanism" which realizes the laws of the development and change of the socialist economy into a communist economy.

As to the laws of development, they characterize the mechanism of the qualitative transformation of the system, the mechanism of the downfall of one system and the appearance in its place of a new, progressive system. The laws of development are the laws of the change of the quality of the system. For example, the laws of the class struggle and the socialist revolution are the laws of development, the laws of the replacement of capitalism by socialism. The laws of surplus value, anarchy and competition are functional laws of capitalism, they characterize the mechanism of the movement of the capitalist system, characterize its permanent, self-reproducing quality, which results from the essence of capitalism, its economic basis--private property.

The laws of development can characterize not only the mechanism, the order of the replacement of one socio-economic system by another, more advanced

ment, but also the qualitative (progressive or regressive) changes within the framework of the main quality of the system, the transition of the system from one stage (phase) to another. Such are the laws of the transition from the premonopoly stage of capitalism to imperialism, one of which is, for example, the law of the concentration of capital. Such are the regularities of the gradual development of socialism into communism, for example, the development of the socialist economy into a communist economy, the convergence and merging of the forms of socialist property, the obliteration of the essential differences between the city and the countryside, the working class and the peasantry, mental and physical labor and others.

Without having revealed the functional laws, it is impossible to imagine the socio-economic formation as an integral self-controlled system, it is impossible to distinguish one formation from another, to ascertain the specific qualitative nature of each of them. For there is inherent in each of the formations its own component composition, its own specific nature of the relationship of the various components, its own functional relations. From the point of view of the general laws of development productive forces and production relations, a base and a superstructure, classes, social groups, a state and other components are inherent in each class formation. However, the specific nature of a formation consists not in the fact that they, these components, exist in the given formation (they exist in any formation), but in what their qualitative nature is, what the relations, the dependence between these components are, what functions they perform. The nature of the interaction of the components of a social system, which stems from the essence of these components, is also the primary determinant of the specific nature of the social system. The revelation and study of this specific nature are impossible without a functional analysis.

Of course, the functional laws and the laws of development can by no means be contrasted. They are fundamentally interconnected. The laws of development as if subordinate the functional laws, organize and regulate the system of their interaction, thereby ensuring the progress of society. At the same time the knowledge of the functional laws makes it possible to penetrate more deeply into the essence of the social system, to discover the deep-seated trends inherent in it, that is, to discover the laws of its development. Moreover, the laws of functioning themselves characterize the moment of development, its starting point, its basis. "The functioning of society," Academician A. D. Aleksandrov notes, "taken not in the narrow sense and not schematically, is also its development: just as the serious study of the development of society, like any object, is impossible without a study of its functioning in the sense of the moments of repetition, stability in its movement."[16]

The differences between the functional laws and the laws of development are relative, write V. G. Vinogradov and S. I. Goncharuk. "The functioning of any system takes place under constantly changing conditions, which directly influences the nature of the interrelationship of the elements in this system. In social systems the conditions of functioning are reproduced by the very laws of functioning. As a result of this such quantitative changes in

the interaction of the elements of the system, which give rise to the need for a change in the very type of functioning, accumulate. This means that the effect of the laws of functioning inwardly gives rise to the effect of the laws of development. The development of a system always involves the struggle of opposing forces and trends, which appeared as a result of the functioning of this system."[17]

The laws of functioning are nothing other than the realization of the activity of the system during each given segment of time. These laws by virtue of their relative stability ensure the preservation and reproduction of the material and spiritual wealth of the system, from which the system is "made." It is also a matter of public (collective) wealth and the wealth of the individual, a person, the wealth of his capabilities, his spiritual and physical potentialities and forces. They are a means of expression of the specific qualitative nature of the system, its protection against factors of internal disorganization and unfavorable external influences.

Functioning is a source and basis of the development of a system, since the premises and opportunities for the transition of the system to a higher level of its improvement and development arise precisely at the stage of functioning. Thus, the premises and elements of a communist society arise, mature and develop during the process of the function of the system of mature socialism. And this means that functioning is already development, its initial, starting point.

On this level the laws of functioning and development are united and on a certain level are identical. They are united and identical also in the sense that they belong to a single (one) system. Without functioning there can be no development, just as without development there can be no functioning, since a system, which is doomed only to functioning, only to the reproduction of its given quality, is hopeless and doomed historically.

The functioning of a system is its movement as something given, something real, its movement within a certain systems quality. Development is the emergence from the real of the system into its potential, its future. Of course, functioning (the real) and development (the potential) can never coincide absolutely. If this were so, all development would cease. The system moves from the real to the potential, from its given state to its future state--a higher, organized, integral state.

For the scientific management of socialist society it is important to study both the laws of development and the functional laws in their unity and interrelation. The knowledge of the laws of development makes it possible to accomplish qualitative transformations of society on the basis of the deep-seated objective trends inherent in it. However, the problem of management consists not only in this. It is important to be able to ensure the optimum functioning of society with the preservation of its specific qualitative nature for a long period, to ensure the dynamic equilibrium of the system, which is impossible without a knowledge of the functional relations, without a thorough analysis of that complex network of

interaction, that fitting together, rubbing of the components of the system against each other. For the subject of management it is still far from sufficient to know the laws of the gradual transformation of socialism into communism. It is important to bear in mind that the process of transformation is realized on the basis of the community of socialism and communism, the preservation of the essential qualitative characteristics of socialism as a system and first of all the public ownership of the means of production. Only by preserving the specific nature of the system, its main quality, which is possible only on the basis of the maintenance and improvement of its integrity and the assurance of its optimum functioning, is it possible to realize the trends, which are incorporated in the system of socialism, of its development and transformation into a communist system.

Thus, in order to know society and to manage it scientific, one must know both where the system is headed, what the trends of its development are, and how it functions, since the objective trends, which are incorporated in the system and are characterized by the laws of development, can be realized only in the case of optimum functioning.

Each component of the social system performs a certain function, which is aimed at the performance of a systemwide function. Since the components are diverse and specific, it is very important to know how to distribute the functions, to coordinate them and to achieve their unconditional performance by each component. "We need," V. I. Lenin wrote, "an enormous concert; we need to gain experience for ourselves, in order to properly distribute the roles in it, in order to give one person the sentimental violin, another person the truculent double base and to hand to a third person the conductor's baton."[18]

Many other parameters of the system depend on the proper distribution of functions. It is the functions which determine the structure, content and purposefulness of the system, the distribution of the roles, powers and responsibility of any organ of management of the system, any worker of this system. "The problem of the functions of the system of management, of the individual organs and their structural parts is permanent in the improvement of the machinery of management," I. L. Bachilo writes.[19]

The distribution of functions means first of all the logical identification of the functions of the system, then the functions of the components. Then these functions are broken down into subfunctions, and these, in turn, are broken down into individual operations. The operations are united into a logical network, which serves as the basis of the formation of the information, which is necessary for the functioning of the system.

Only after comparing the functions of the organ of management with its object is it possible to determine how necessary this organ is. The conformity of the functions of the organ of management to the functions of the object of management is a necessary condition of the effectiveness of management. For the organ of management exists not in itself, not for itself, but for ensuring the effective functioning and development of the system which it manages.

M. I. Setrov's book "Osnovy funktsional'noy teorii organizatsii" /Fundamentals of the Functional Theory of the Organization/ is one of the basic works which are devoted to the functional aspect of systemicity. In it the essence of functionality as the main attribute of the organization, the principles of compatibility, the actualization and concentration of functions, the neutralization of dysfunctions, the destabilization of functions and other questions are examined thoroughly and convincingly.

On the basis of the concept of a function, M. I. Setrov attempts to explain literally all the processes which take place in a system. Moreover, he considers all these processes to be functional: he considers the process of the development of the system to be the actualization of functions; the processes of management and regulation--as the neutralization of dysfunctions; the process of improvement--as the destabilization of functions and so on.[21]

It seems to us that the actualization of functions and the neutralization of dysfunctions and the destabilization of functions are /one/ /in boldface/ of the numerous manifestations of the formation and functioning, improvement and development of /the system as a whole/ /in boldface/, in the unity of its components and structure, its interrelationship with the environment, the processes of management, which are inherent in it, and so on.

Undoubtedly the functional aspect of systemicity is of great importance for understanding the system, systems qualities and the factors of the integrity of the system. However, it is hardly possible to study a system comprehensively, as M. I. Setrov writes, "only on the basis of the functional method, which reflects the dialectics of the stability and variability of the organization and reveals the need for its structural diversity and the unity of differentiated elements, their autonomy and interdependence."[22]

The point is that there is no function at all, which is irrelative to its substratum--its material or other bearer. As applied to the system this means the "attachment" of the function to the components--their bearers. Not any component, but namely the /given/ /in boldface/ component can perform one specific function or another, the /given/ /in boldface/ function within the system. Of course, when building systems, say, technical systems or organizations, one component or another (man, a part, an assembly) is selected for a certain function, but, first, this selection is by no means arbitrary and, second, even the chosen, selected component modifies the function to one extent or another. Thus, two workers of the same occupation, but with different experience and abilities perform, as is known, the same function far from identically. This simplest example attests that it is illegitimate to make the function the cornerstone of systems research.

It is impossible to explain the structure, the mode of the interrelationship of the components of a social system only by the function. And this is because the structure in a social system is the direct or mediated relation in essence of each element with each other, while the function, as

a rule, is "attached" to the individual component or a group of them. Moreover, the structure, in integrating the components of the system, modifies them, and not only in the substratal sense, but also the functional sense. It turns out that the structure cannot be derived directly from the functions, and the latter cannot be explained outside the structure.

A knowledge of the history of the system, its origination, formation and development, an idea of the environment of the system, the social and natural environment, of the nature and peculiarities of its interaction with the environment and so on are necessary in order to explain (not to establish, but precisely to explain) and substantiate the functions. The importance for explaining the functions of the system and its components and subsystems of the organ of management of the system, and not only this system, but also the superior system, is great--for it is these organs which determine the functions of the system as a whole and distribute the functions among the components.

We are no longer speaking about the fact that to absolutize the function in systems research means to pay a certain tribute to teleology, which postulates the so-called final causality. For the main thing in the purely functional approach to the study of systems is not the questions, /of what/ /in boldface/ (whom) does the system consist, how are its components connected and how do they interact, but the question /for what, for the sake of what goal/ /in boldface/ is the system being created and does it function.

Of course, social systems are purposeful systems, since people and social institutions raise certain goals for the system and strive to achieve them. And of course, the question, for what, for what goal is the system, be it an organization or a technical system, being constructed, is an important question, and both the composition and structure and the other parameters of the system largely depend on the answer to it. But this is not the only and by no means the most important question in the study of a system, especially as not an artificial, but a natural (in the broad sense of the word) system, which arose historically, is being improved and developed.

Any function is subordinate to a goal, works for a goal, while the goal itself in the final analysis is objectively conditioned. The goal is achievable only when the objective possibilities exist for its realization, but these possibilities of the system are rooted in its components, in its structure and in the external environment, from which the system derives the substance, energy and information, which are necessary for its existence, functioning and development.

The assertion that it is possible to study a system /only/ /in boldface/ from the position of the functional approach, wittingly or not results in relativism, the negation of the truly existing systems with their real components and real structure.

Thus, a function can perform its role in the system not in itself, but only together with the components to which it is "attached," only in inseparable connection and interaction with the structure, with the external environment of the system.

What has been said above makes it possible to conclude that an important role in a social system belongs to functions. Its behavior and activeness, which are dictated by the regularities inherent in the system, find expression precisely in the functions. And not only the laws of functioning--movement, activeness within a given quality--but also the laws of development, which remove the system from the framework of the given quality and put it into a new quality, are characteristic of the system. Thus, functions express the dialectics of the stability and variability of the system. It is important here to emphasize that functions perform their role in the system not in themselves, but only in fundamental interconnection with the components to which they are "attached," only in unity with the structure--the mode of the interrelationship of the components, in unity with the external environment of the system--with the systems and nonsystems formations, with which the given system interacts.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 23, p 337.

2. Ibid.

3. All of these characteristics of social systems were examined by us in the article "On the Systems Approach in Social Cognition," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 6, 1973.

4. On the different meanings of the concept "function" see Yu. A. Tikhomirov, "Upravlencheskoye resheniye" /The Administrative Decision/, Moscow, 1972; I. L. Bachilo, "Funktsii organov upravleniya" /Functions of the Organs of Management/, Moscow, 1976.

5. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, p 499.

6. "Sintez znaniy i problema upravleniya" /The Synthesis of Knowledge and the Problem of Management/, Moscow, 1978, p 149.

7. See V. N. Sagatovskiy, "An Attempt at Constructing the Category Apparatus of the Systems Approach," FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, No 3, 1976.

8. V. V. Druzhinin, D. S. Kontorov, "Problemy sistemologii" /Problems of Systemology/, Moscow, "Sovetskoye radio", 1976, p 36.

9. "Programmno-tselevoy podkhod v upravlenii. Teoriya i praktika" /The Program-Goal Approach in Management. Theory and Practice/, Moscow, 1976, p 11.

10. M. I. Setrov, "Osnovy funktsional'noy teorii organizatsii" /Fundamentals of the Functional Theory of the Organization/, Leningrad, 1972, p 31.

11. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, p 191.

12. Ibid., Vol 12, p 633.

13. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 1, p 429.

14. Ibid., p 465. V. P. Rozhin has written more than once about the importance of the distinction of the laws of functioning and the laws of development (see, for example, his "Vvedeniye v marksistskuyu sotsiologiyu" /An Introduction to Marxist Sociology/, Leningrad, 1962, pp 42-43).

15. K. Marx and F. Engel 'Soch.," Vol 19, pp 18-19.

16. A. D. Aleksandrov, "In . fense of Sociology," VESTNIK AN SSSR, No 7, 1972, p 58.

17. V. G. Vinogradov, S. I. Goncharuk, "Zakony obshchestva i nauchnoye predvideniye" /The Laws of Society and Scientific Foresight/, Moscow, 1972, p 127.

18. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 8, p 96.

19. I. L. Bachilo, "Funktsii organov upravleniya," p 3.

20. See M. I. Setrov, "Osnovy funktsional'noy teorii organizatsii."

21. Ibid., pp 34-35.

22. Ibid., p 153.

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ON THE QUESTION OF THE CONCEPT 'POLITICAL POWER' UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF SOCIALISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 55-62

/Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Viktor Sergeyevich Shevtsov/

/Text/ The need to elaborate the problems connected with state policy, the importance and role of individual social institutions in the system of social management requires first of all a clear idea of the essence of the concept "political power."

In examining its sociological content it will evidentally be justified to proceed from the analysis of the general concept of power. The sociological interpretation of the term "power" persumes, from our point of view, the existence of: first, a social relation which is of a volitional nature; second, a ruler and subjects, between whom such relations are formed; third, a mechanism for realizing power, including coercion, which ensures and guarantees the authoritative nature of the relation.

It is possible to distinguish three basic aspects of the examination of power. The first is power in the broadest meaning of this word. They speak in this widely used sense, for example, about the power of man over nature, about the "power of fate," the power of money and so forth. In the indicated understanding "power" means, as a rule, a factor of the determining or at least a significant influence on some processes or phenomena: authority, might and so forth.[1]

The second aspect is the individual elements of the display of power and power relations in various spheres of social life and social communities (the collective, the family and others). F. Engels noted that "on the one hand, a certain authority, no matter in what manner it is created, and, on the other, a certain subordination, regardless of what public organization, are mandatory for use under those physical conditions in which the production and circulation of products take place."[2]

The third aspect is social power, public power, characteristic of which, in addition to a social and volitional nature,[3] is the fact that it applies

to the entire class society and acts as the most important means of its organization, its management, as well as the regulation of the social behavior of the members of society. This power is guaranteed by measures of both persuasion and coercion. True, some researchers are inclined to minimize, or to totally deny the importance of the latter as an inalienable attribute of state power under socialism. On the basis of the fact that under the conditions of socialist society a broad agreement of wishes exists between the state as an organ of management of society and the workers, V. O. Tanenbaum, for example, claims: "Power is not coercion, power is manifested only in the fact that the person being governed acts on the instructions of the manager.... Therefore, in our opinion, the emphasis on the methods of ruling in the general sociological definition of power can only conceal the essence of power itself."[4]

It would be incorrect, of course, to exaggerate, to hypertrophy the element of coercion when interpreting the concept of power sociologically, especially as applied to socialist society. At the same time it is necessary to take fully into account the role of the coercive factor as the main guarantor of the domination of a powerful will, as a result of which coercion also acts as one of the main, inalienable attributes of power. Here, no doubt, it is necessary to proceed from the distinct meaning of coercion as a form and method of its realization under the conditions of different social formations.

On the whole, when analyzing the essence of power only those generalizations, in which a researcher is dealing with social relations as such with regard to power, seem methodologically justified. Of those named above only the second and third aspects pertain to them. This methodological approach is based on the principle stated by V. I. Lenin in the course of criticizing the concept of power of the legal Marxist P. B. Struve. Lenin emphasized that he completely incorrectly saw "the distinctive feature of the state in coercive power, coercive power exists in every human society, in the clan system, in the family, but there was no state here."[5]

There exists--and this should be clearly distinguished--public power, as which state power appears in a class society, and various specific manifestations of power, which do not at all belong to the system of public, state power. The interpretation of social power as a phenomenon, which integrates in itself ("unified power") both public power as such and the various forms of power relations, which exist in society, is theoretically invalid.

In real life there is no and can be no "unified power," that is, power which combines the most diverse manifestations of power, beginning with parental power and ending with state power. With respect to their social nature (let us compare, for example, family relations and the state will of the ruling class), the sphere of action (the family, the collective and society as a whole), the mechanism of realization and the means of support the indicated phenomena do not form a unified structure and do not have a unified subject, as well as an object of influence. In this connection it

is necessary to consider as very debatable the following opinion of Yu. A. Tikhomirov: "It seems to us that power is unified, that in different forms it influences various aspects of the life of society."[6]

Inherent in each of the main historical periods of the development of human society, which correspond to certain socio-economic formations, is its own type of public power. As the dominant means and method of control, the regulation of the most important social processes public power existed in preclass, tribal society,[7] it will also exist under communist. But (and this is of fundamental importance) in a class society, including socialist society, public power ("special public power," as F. Engels defined it) is political power, state power.

In characterizing state power as public power, it should first of all be noted that it is the dominant social force of the class which dominates in society. Only its presence enables it to assert itself as the ruling class. For this state power should be organized in a certain way. As a rule, it is not only structurally coordinated internally, but also has for self-realization specially created organs, a machinery. "The /existence/ /in italics/ of state power finds its expression precisely in its /officials/ /in italics/, the army, the administration, judges. If we abstract ourselves from this physical embodiment of it, it is only a shadow, a fancy, a mere name," K. Marx wrote.[8]

The most important feature of state power as public power is its universality, that is, its ability to apply to all members of society, to influence all the most important spheres of social life. Such a nature of it makes it possible to organize society nationally, to divert its vital activity into certain legal forms, where the state is "the official representative of the entire society, its concentration in a manifest corporation."[9] And, F. Engels noted, it acts in the indicated capacity "only insofar as... it was the state of that class which for its era by itself represented the entire society."[10]

The essence of the state--to be the decisive means of realizing the will of the ruling class (under the conditions of mature socialism, all the people)--requires the exercise of state, political power as the /united/ /in italics/ (from the point of view of the social content and object) and the /only/ /in italics/ public power of the class society. In other words, along with state power there cannot be another public power. "Two sovereign powers cannot function simultaneously, side by side /in one state/ /in italics/. This is an absurdity like the squaring of a circle," K. Marx noted.[11] V. I. Lenin, in characterizing the diarchy in Russia in 1917 as a temporary and transient phenomenon, which was brought into being by exceptional and unique circumstances, wrote that "/there cannot be/ /in italics/ two powers in a state. One of them should fade away...."[12]

We should class with the most important attributes of state power not only its publicity, but also its sovereignty. The latter is manifested in the fact that this power has features of leadership and independence, which are

immanently inherent in it. State power establishes in society unified law and order, determines the legal status of state organs and public organizations and consolidates the group of rights and duties of officials and citizens. The decisive position of public state power with respect to any individual, specific manifestations of power, which exist, for example, in the activity of public organizations, is embodied precisely in leadership.

Opinions, which boil down to the fact that under the conditions of socialist society along with public state power other public powers, which differ from it, exist: "social," "political" and others, are expressed in scientific literature, mainly legal literature. In this connection the question, did not the notions of state power as the only sovereign, public power lose their meaning under the conditions of mature socialism, is legitimate.

The very social essence of national socialist state power in the process of its development and improvement along the path of gradual transformation into a stateless, nonpolitical system of public self-government is undoubtedly changing. Changes in the forms and methods of its exercise are occurring.[13] However--and special attention should be devoted to this circumstance--all the main features of state power, which immanently belong to it--the volitional nature, publicity, sovereignty, the provision of a certain mechanism ("material appendages") and measures of coercion--exist and are displayed until political, state power as such exists. After losing these features, it will cease to be precisely state power. To say that under the conditions of mature socialism state power has lost its leading, sovereign nature, having given up its place to another public power, means to deny the existence of state power in general. The belittling of the leading nature of state power logically stems from the assertions of some authors about the presence under the conditions of the mature socialist society along with state power also of another power, which differs from it and is broader in content--so-called political power. The advocates of such a point of view proceed from a clause of Article 2 of the USSR Constitution: "All power in the USSR belongs to the people." The most important principle of socialist democracy, according to which all the people, all the workers under the conditions of the Soviet system have the right to really and fully manage the affairs of society and the state, to be the masters of their life, is interpreted by them in the sense that it is a matter of power which is different (to a greater or lesser extent) from state power. The sovereignty of the people is defined through the concept of political power. The existence of "political" power as a broader power in its functions and of state power as a narrower power is thereby postulated. Here the political system of society as a whole functions as the mechanism of the exercise of the former, while the state functions as the mechanism of the exercise of the latter. Thus, in commenting on the content of Article 2 of the USSR Constitution, B. M. Lazarev writes: "Here in contrast to pre- [illegible] Soviet constitutions it is a matter not only of state power, but [illegible] power which is exercised by the entire political system which includes the national state, public organizations, labor collectives and the CPSU--the heart of this system."[14]

F. M. Burlatskiy sees the main peculiarity of the political system in the fact that it "exercises supreme power, the decisions of which are obligatory for the entire society" and at the same time "has a monopoly to the exercise of power."[15] The concept of political power, in the opinion of this author, is considerably broader than the concept of state power. "The most characteristic feature of political power is its ability to strive for the accomplishment of certain goals or others with the aid of coercion. Outwardly power is connected with the ability to impose will on subjects, while internally it is connected with subordination (voluntary or forced) of the subjects to this will." State power, in his opinion, does not necessarily use coercion for the achievement of goals. It can also achieve them by other means--ideological influence, economic stimulation and so on.[16]

Thus, by distinguishing quite specifically the concepts "political power" and "state power," F. M. Burlatskiy considers coercion a characteristic feature of political power.

In our opinion, the conclusion about the "pluralism" of power under the conditions of mature socialism is lacking in any grounds because this society has reached a high degree of social homogeneity and unity. The process of the gradual development of the socialist state system into communist self-government by no means entails either an increase of the proportion of political relations in society as a whole or the appearance along with or above state power of another, "political power." The convergence (and subsequently the merging) of state and public forms and institutions is undoubtedly introducing a certain uniqueness in their functioning. Practical experience attests to the closer and closer interweaving and interpenetration of the state and public principles in management, the appearance of mixed forms of its organization. As an example let us cite the organs of the People's Control. However, all this does not entail the loss by state power of the attributes immanently inherent in it (publicity, sovereignty and others). They are being maintained to the extent and for that period, in which state power itself exists. Communist social self-government, the transition to which from the socialist state system is a complex dialectical process, presumes the existence of its nonpolitical public power, which differs qualitatively from state power.

As to the political system of socialist society, which is regarded by the indicated authors as the source and at the same time the mechanism of "political power," this question requires special examination. The political system does indeed form the mechanism of socialist democracy, which includes both state and nonstate sociopolitical institutions. The Communist Party functions as the heart of this system, its guiding and leading force. Its policy, which expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and all the working masses, determines the goals and content of the activity of the organs of state power.

The political system embraces the main political relations of society. But political relations and political, state power are phenomena which by no

cases coincide. The latter, of course, is comparable with the entire sphere of political relations, just as the state is comparable with the entire political superstructure of society. At the same time it should be borne in mind that, first, political, that is, state, power is a specific form of political relations and constitutes only a part of such relations; second, it is their most essential and decisive part, which is as if their heart, since the system of state power, in V. I. Lenin's words, is the most essential thing in politics[17]; third, political power is state power and no other power, which has a qualitative uniqueness (the public nature, the possibility of extension to the entire society as a whole, the backing in necessary instances of state power dictates by measures of state coercion), which makes it possible to discriminate it from other political relations.

Political power is exercised through the functions of the state, by virtue of which they are all of a political nature. The concept of "nonpolitical" functions of the state is untenable because it is logically contradictory.

Of course, the institutions and organizations, which form the political system of socialist society, have a direct bearing on the determination of state policy, on the formation of the organs of the state and on the performance of state functions. The mechanism of the effect of state power cannot be fully characterized without consideration of the activity of various nonstate organizations (the party, trade unions and others). For example, according to Article 100 of the Soviet Constitution, the CPSU, Komsomol, cooperative and other public organizations are granted the right to nominate candidates for deputies of the soviets of people's deputies. Election commissions, which are made up of representatives of public organizations, as well as labor collectives and assemblies of servicemen by military units (Article 101), ensure the holding of elections to the soviets. Public organizations in the person of their all-union organs have the right of legislative initiative (Article 113). Representatives of party and public organizations belong to higher and local state organs, the collegia of ministries and departments and so on. However, the close and coordinated activity of the organs of state power, on the one hand, and party and public organizations and labor collectives, on the other, which is carried out in the name of common interests and goals, does not give grounds, in our opinion, to combine their functions and to draw the conclusion that political, state power finds its immediate embodiment in the activity, for example, of public organizations or labor collectives. The very purpose of public organizations as voluntary self-governing associations of citizens consists precisely in expressing and representing the relatively narrow and even specific interests of individual social groups and strata of the population, while political, state power expresses first of all the most common, fundamental interests of the Soviet people as a whole. The indicated difference also determines the uniqueness of the interrelations of public and state institutions within the political system. These interrelations are based on comprehensive and coordinated cooperation in the solution of both statewide and specific social problems.[18]

The state organization of any class society is based on a system of legal relations. The realized and purposeful interest of the ruling class, which is embodied in the standards of the law, is accomplished most completely and effectively precisely by means of them. The state power dictates of the ruling class are also vested in the standards of the law, which enables it to regulate the behavior of the members of society and thereby to exercise state management of it. For this reason the standards of the law act simultaneously as political and legal imperatives.

The law is the main instrument, by means of which state power pursues a certain policy, fulfills the tasks and functions characteristic of it and influences social relations. By organizing and regulating them in the interests of the ruling class and expressing its will (in the national state, the will of the entire society), state power by means of the law lends a universal and mandatory nature to this will. "The demands stemming from the general interests of some class," F. Engels noted, "can be implemented only by the winning of political power by this class, after which it lends its claims universal force in the form of laws."[19]

An important aspect of the correlation of socialist state power and the law is that, on the one hand, state power is the creator of the law, the mechanism of its enforcement, implements it and controls the fulfillment of the legal standards and, on the other hand, when necessary uses the potentials of the law for its own organization and vests its own actions in legal forms. It is impossible, consequently, not to see a certain dependence of state power on the law, bearing in mind that its organization and activity take place within a strict legal framework. The degree and forms of the use of the law for the exercise of state power depend on the socioeconomic system of society; the sharpness and scale of the class struggle; such factors as the form of the state system, the political regime, the level of the sense of justice and legal culture of citizens and others. Here the role of the law as a means of organizing state power does not reduce to its limitation (although to a certain degree it is also capable of fulfilling this task). To organize state power means to establish firm, permanent ("normal") legal and organizational bases of its functioning, to determine the most rational forms of its exercise, to regulate strictly and precisely the competence of state organs and their relations with each other and with citizens, to provide for the proper guarantees, which prevent the possibility of abuse of power and so forth.

Thus, in acting as the decisive means in the accomplishment of the tasks and functions of state power, the law in turn fulfills an important role in its making and formation, in the creation of all the necessary prerequisites and conditions for its stable and normal functioning.

The effectiveness of the law as an instrument of the state management of socialist society depends on the steadfast and precise fulfillment of legal directives and demands. "The Soviet state and all its organs operate on the basis of socialist legality and ensure the protection of law and order, the interests of society, the rights and freedoms of citizens," it is

written in Article 4 of the USSR Constitution. "State and public organizations and officials are obliged to observe the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws."

The authoritativeness of legal orders in our society and, consequently, their strict fulfillment are based first of all not on coercion, but on the conviction of the executors themselves of the justness and correctness of such orders. Therefore the Soviet state has the opportunity to utilize fully and most effectively such a mighty means of the enforcement of a law as the sense of justice of the broad masses of workers. A knowledge of the prevailing legislation, the approval of legal orders, a thorough, conscious understanding of the need for their observance--all this serves as an important means of ensuring the voluntary and strict observance of the laws and other legal acts by Soviet citizens.

In this connection the problem of the scientific elaboration of measures on the cultivation of the sense of justice of the Soviet people, which is an important factor of the formation and exercise of state power and of the entire legal system of the socialist state, is assuming particular urgency. The increase of the role of the CPSU--the guiding and leading force of Soviet society--is directly connected with the increase of the political consciousness of the masses and the constant improvement of the matter of communist education. This, in particular, is discussed in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work."

The socialist state acts as the main tool of socialist transformations and the main, leading form of the sovereignty of the people. That is why the extension of socialist democracy and the consolidation of the socialist state are a unified process. "The development of socialist democracy," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "is regarded by the party as a necessary condition of successful progress in the direction of communism. Precisely this principle is the basis for the practical measures of the party and the government on improving the state machinery and the entire system of organs of power and management."[20]

In generalizing the experience of the Paris Commune as the first attempt to create a new type of political, state power--proletarian, socialist power--K. Marx wrote that there occurred here "the reverse devouring of state power by society, when society's own vital forces take the place of the forces which subjugate and enslave society; it is the transfer of power to the popular masses themselves, which in the place of the organized force of their oppression create their own force."[21]

The process of the "reverse devouring" of state power by society characterizes most thoroughly and completely the very social essence of the formation and development of the socialist state system along the path of its gradual transformation into communist social self-government. But the function of the management of society--power--will also be retained in the communist classless society. Organs of public power--organs of social

self-government--will also be formed, the forms of both the direct and the representative participation of the people in the management of public affairs will undergo comprehensive development.

Thus, political power is a part of the political system of society and one of the manifestations of power in the broad sense of this concept. However, it is not identical to either the political system or power as such, acting in the person of the state as a profoundly specific form of class relations, the public affirmation of the will of the ruling class, which under the conditions of mature socialism becomes the national will.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thus, M. Banashak and I. Forkhol'tser write: "The basis of the supremacy of any exploiting class is its economic power. It is based on the ownership of the means of production and gives the owners the opportunity to make the have-not working masses dependent. Economic power itself is of a political nature, it directly includes power over people. However, it cannot by itself ensure the preservation of the class relations which are characterized by the supremacy of the exploiting and oppressing minority over the exploited and oppressed majority of the people. For this it needs a state which has been specially created for this purpose, that tool of supremacy, which as a political class organization preserves and strengthens the economic bases of the power of the ruling class and suppresses the opposition of other classes and strata" (M. Banashak, I. Forkhol'tser, "Chelovek i vlast': chelovek v protivopolozhnykh obshchestvennykh sistemakh sovremennosti" /Man and Power: Man in the Opposing Social Systems of the Present/, Moscow, 1973, pp 131, 132).

2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 18, p 304.

3. "Power," N. M. Kreyzerov writes, "is a social volitional relation, a certain volitional act, in which the primacy and domination of strong will are ensured. This feature is characteristic of power in any society, in spite of the qualitative difference in the nature, content and direction of will. The essence of the relation of power in any society consists first of all in the fact that the strong will dominates, has supremacy and is of a decisive nature.... The people, at whom the strong will is addressed, can yield to it either voluntarily or as a result of coercion" (N. M. Keyzerov, "Vlast' i avtoritet. Kritika burzhuaznykh teoriy" /Power and Authority. A Critique of Bourgeois Theories/, Moscow, 1973, pp 38, 39, 62).

4. B. O. Tanenbaum, "The Categories 'Politics' and 'Power' in the Science of Constitutional Law," "Problemy konstitutsionnogo prava" /Problems of Constitutional Law/, an inter-VUZ scientific collection, issue 1/2, Saratov, 1974, pp 57, 58.

5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 1, p 439.

6. Yu. A. Tikhomirov, "Mekhanizm upravleniya v razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve" [The Mechanism of Management in a Mature Socialist Society], Moscow, 1978, p 16.

7. In characterizing the manifestations of public power in the primitive society system, F. Engels wrote: "In each such society certain common interests, the protection of which has to be entrusted to individuals, although under the supervision of the entire society, have existed from the very start: such are the settlement of quarrels; repressions against people who exceed their rights; supervision of irrigation, especially in hot countries; finally, on the level of a primitive-wild state--religious functions. Such duties are encountered in primitive societies at all times--such as, for example, in the ancient Germanic marks and even now in India. They are vested, of course, with certain powers and are the germs of state power" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, pp 183, 184).

8. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 6, p 287.

9. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, pp 291, 292.

10. Ibid., p 292.

11. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 6, p 263.

12. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 31, p 155.

13. As A. K. Belykh quite correctly noted, under the conditions of the triumph of socialism and the transition of society to communism "the management of class relations rules out the method of state coercion. The latter is applied not to the representatives of classes, but to antisocial elements" (A. K. Belykh, "Upravleniye i samoupravleniye (sotsialisticheskoye upravleniye: sushchnost' i perspektivy razvitiya)" [Government and Self-Government (Socialist Government: The Essence and Prospects of Development)], Leningrad, 1972, p 106).

14. B. M. Lazarev, "Power and Management," SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV, No 2, 1978, p 16.

15. F. M. Burlatskiy, "The Political System of Mature Socialism," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 8, 1977, pp 18, 19.

16. See "Politicheskiye sistemy sovremennosti" [Political Systems of the Present], Moscow, 1978, pp 26, 27.

17. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 239.

18. See I. M. Stepanov, "Participation of the Workers in the Management of State and Public Affairs," "Sotsializm i lichnost'" /Socialism and the Individual/, Moscow, 1979, p 33.

19. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 21, p 515.

20. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" /By the Leninist Course/, Vol 3, Moscow, 1972, p 48.

21. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 17, p 548.

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CSO: 1806

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF PROBLEMS OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

EDITORIAL NOTE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 p 63

/Article/

/Text/ In the process of the development of Soviet society questions of the increase of the role of the intelligentsia in the building of communism, the increase of the efficiency and quality of its work, the development and improvement of the social structure under the conditions of mature socialism are assuming greater and greater practical and theoretical importance. The elaboration of these questions is one of the most important tasks of Soviet sociological science. The journal has already published a series of materials with respect to the results of sociological studies of the intelligentsia and its individual strata. Now a thematic selection of articles on these problems is being offered for the attention of the readers. Works of both a theoretical and an empirical nature are included in it. The editorial board hopes that their publication to some extent will also be conducive to the solution of debatable problems in the area in question.

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THE SOVIET INTELLIGENTSIA: THE STRUCTURE AND TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT AT THE PRESENT STAGE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 63-74

/Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mikhail Nikolayevich Rutkevich, chief of the Chair of Marxism-Leninism of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics/

/Text/ The working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the national intelligentsia are the main elements of the social class structure of socialist society.

Under the conditions of mature socialism these elements of the social class structure are retained, but the very system of social relations enters a qualitatively new stage of its development. The most important distinctive traits of this stage are its fundamental integrity and dynamism.[1] How do these features affect the process of overcoming the social differences between /the intelligentsia and the main classes/ of society, the structure of the intelligentsia itself?

The answer to these questions requires the involvement of a wide range of statistical data, as well as the results of sociological research. Otherwise it threatens to develop into dogmatic theorizing. But at the same time empirical data in themselves cannot give an accurate idea either of the structure of the intelligentsia or of the trends of its development. Both the "obtaining" of them and their interpretation require the correct /methodological approach/ which is given by the theory of Marxism-Leninism as a whole, general theoretical sociology (historical materialism), the theory of scientific communism--since it is a matter of the social relations of a new socio-economic formation--and, of course, the "living spirit" of Marxism, its /materialist dialectics/ in particular.

The dialectical approach to the system of social relations requires the recognition of the /hierarchical, multilevel/ nature of social structure in general and its most important type--the social class structure, in particular. As applied to the subject of our study this means that if the working

class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia act as the main elements in the system of social class relations of socialism, each of them in turn should be regarded as a system, with its own elements, structure and so on. Without consideration of this circumstance it is impossible to establish the connection of the social class structure with the occupational skills structure, with respect to "types of occupations" and so on, that is, to proceed to its concrete sociological study.

A thorough description of the classes of capitalist society, the strata and groups belonging to them, their role in the class struggle under certain historical circumstances or others and at various stages of the development of bourgeois society is given in the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The intelligentsia under the conditions of capitalism is a social stratum /of a special type/, which lacks unity with respect to class. "The educated representatives of mental labor,"[2] as V. I. Lenin called the intelligentsia, can belong to both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, although the bulk of the intelligentsia under capitalism holds an intermediate position between these main classes of society, approaching the petty bourgeoisie in the conditions of work and daily life, as well as in its socio-psychological characteristics.

A multilevel nature is also inherent in the system of social class relations under socialism, but with the fundamental difference that now all social groups are groups of workers. The intelligentsia here--in contrast to capitalism--is a social group which has /internal unity/, since it unites people of mental labor, who base their labor on the public ownership of the means of production. However, according to dialectics, there is no identity without difference. All the main elements of the system of social class relations of socialism have a certain internal differentiation, and therefore the process of the convergence of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia acts at the same time as the process of overcoming the social differences within these social groups, that is, the convergence of the strata and groups, of which they consist.

In party documents and many scientific and journalistic works the entire population of workers of mental labor is understood as the intelligentsia in the general (broad) sense of this term. The intelligentsia as an ally of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry is spoken about in precisely this sense. But under the conditions of mature socialism the indicated group, while uniting people with traits common to them (first of all the occupation with mental labor), at the same time is /not entirely/ homogeneous socially. Not by chance is the expression "specialists and employees" used in scientific literature and in publications of the USSR Central Statistical Administration.[3] Here by "specialists" there is understood that portion of the workers of mental labor, which in the performance of its occupational functions needs a high level of special knowledge, which is acquired at a tekhnikum or a higher educational institution. Those people of mental labor, who do not need such knowledge and, as a rule,

do not have a diploma on graduation from a secondary specialized or higher educational institution, are understood as "employees." Speaking at the 16th Congress of Trade Unions, L. I. Brezhnev especially appealed to the delegates--representatives of various social groups: workers, kolkhoz farmers, figures of science, technology, culture and art, as well as to the large stratum of workers, "which on the whole we call employees and whose activity is necessary in any area of social life."[4]

It should be emphasized that the obtained education far from always conforms to the nature of labor and in itself cannot serve as a criterion of social differences. In sociological research, as a rule, this criterion is of an auxiliary nature. But on first approximation the size of the two groups in question of workers of mental labor can be determined by the existence (or absence) of a diploma. In a more specific analysis it is taken into account, of course, that a certain portion of the certified specialists are engaged in those types of labor, which do not require a given level of special training, and, on the contrary, uncertified specialists at times hold posts of specialists (so-called experienced workers).

The indicated considerations are usually taken into account when ascertaining the boundaries within the workers of mental labor, between the two social groups (which are distinguished according to the nature of labor)--/specialists/ and /employees/; the latter are frequently also called "nonspecialist employees." The introduction in scientific usage of the latter term was dictated by the fact that in census sheets, in the filling out of questionnaires and so on nearly all people of mental labor are designated by the concept "employees." Here it is close to the concept of the intelligentsia in the broad sense of the latter, although it does not completely coincide with it, since it does not take into account specialists who are members of kolkhozes and people of the free professions, who undoubtedly belong to the intelligentsia.

We have dwelled in such detail on clarifying the meaning of the concepts, which are basic for the theme in question, because so far the terminological mess has not yet been eliminated and is hindering the study of the problem in essence. For us the legitimacy of the use by statistical organs of the above-indicated terms in conformity with their different semantic meanings, but under a necessary condition--the precise indication in each case of what is being discussed--is not to be doubted. It is impossible to recognize as correct the attempts to prove some thesis, by taking only one of the meanings of the concepts "employees" and "intelligentsia," which have entered scientific use, as the only possible one. Terminological accuracy is also necessary for comparison with the sociological literature of a number of fraternal socialist countries of Europe, where it is customary to use the term "intelligentsia" only in its narrow sense, that is, for designating the population of people who are engaged in skilled mental labor, which requires the acquisition of a special education. In Hungarian sociological literature, for example, only people with a higher education are understood as intelligentsia.

The difference between the two main groups of workers of mental labor under socialism, particularly under present conditions, remains a /social/ difference, since it is determined by the difference according to the nature of labor, according to the degree of its complexity, and therefore according to the pay. This difference between the two groups of workers of mental labor arises under the conditions of capitalism, which was noted by V. I. Lenin back at the beginning of the 20th century. "Capitalism," Lenin emphasized, "in all areas of national labor increases particularly rapidly the number of /employees/, makes a greater and greater demand for /the intelligentsia/ (the italics are mine--M.R.)."[5] The latter, V. I. Lenin continues later (thereby distinguishing employees and the intelligentsia), becomes associated in part with the bourgeois, in part with the proletariat.

During the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, in analyzing the social class differences in Soviet society and the ways to overcome them, V. I. Lenin also directed attention to the difference in the status of specialists and employees, the elimination of which is possible only on the basis of the surmounting of the basic class contradictions. In a letter to I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, in objecting to the identification of all the workers of a scientific laboratory with specialists, V. I. Lenin indicated that the transformation of all people of mental labor into the latter "cannot happen before the abolition of classes."[6]

The category of workers, which in statistics is now designated by the term "specialists," in our opinion, should be regarded (with allowance made for a number of reservations) as the intelligentsia in the narrow sense of this concept, although such an interpretation is also not irreproachable. Generally speaking, it is possible to rightfully call any worker, who has mastered the basic knowledge and skills in his occupation, for example, a lathe operator or a driver, a specialist. The term "specialists" as one of the designations of the intelligentsia began to be used because an especially high degree of special vocational training is necessary for the occupational activity of an engineer, a physician, a teacher and so on.

It was already noted above that the level of education cannot serve as the main criterion of the membership of one person or another in a social group. Not all specialists with a diploma belong to the intelligentsia, if only because the use of certified specialists at workplaces for the control of complicated machines, units, instruments, vehicles, for the installation and adjustment of equipment and so on is becoming massive. At the same time, as was already noted, a certain portion of "experienced workers" belong to the social group of specialists.

Although their proportion among specialists is steadily decreasing, it is still significant. According to the 1970 census, 53 percent of the engineers (according to the post) had a higher education; 37.4 percent of them were technicians, that is, people with a secondary specialized education, 9.1 percent of the total number did not have a special education at all.[7] It is impossible, in our opinion, to agree with the point of view of those scholars who suggest that under the conditions of mature socialism

the workplaces of specialists should, as during the period of their acute shortage, be taken by promoted "experienced workers." Advancement along social lines, including the election of leading workers and kolkhoz farmers to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee, is a natural phenomenon. But on a social basis activity is one thing, while the constant performance of occupational duties in a post, which requires special knowledge, is a completely different matter.

Employees (nonspecialist employees) are another large group of workers of mental labor. The people belonging to it are engaged in less skilled types of mental activity, which do not require a secondary specialized and, what is more, a higher education for their performance. Given the current state of the productive forces and the organization of labor, society still needs such occupations as accounting clerks, bookkeepers, cashiers, secretary-typists, savings bank controllers and so on. The people of these and similar occupations perform comparatively simple stereotypic operations which require approximately the same level of general education and special training as a skilled worker has.

Let us turn now to the analysis of the structure of the intelligentsia (specialists) in the narrow, true sense of the word. Under the conditions of mature socialism this social group is homogeneous in the main thing, according to such an important social trait as the nature of labor, and at the same time within it there are social differences, and in several "cross sections," "microscopic sections."

First, there is a certain differentiation within the intelligentsia depending on the /relationship to the means of production/. The majority of specialists do not differ with respect to this feature from the working class, since they base their labor on national ownership, that is, they are employed at state enterprises and institutions. A comparatively small detachment of them (600,000 in 1978) is employed at kolkhozes. However, the difference in the social status between an agronomist at a kolkhoz and an agronomist at a sovkhoz is less significant than between an agronomist and a worker of a sovkhoz, or an agronomist at a kolkhoz and a kolkhoz farmer, who is engaged in simple physical labor.

Those members of creative unions, who do not have a permanent job on editorial boards, at movie studios, in radio and television, account for a very negligible portion of the intelligentsia; privately practicing physicians, teachers and so on should be assigned to the same category. The presence of this stratum reflects the fact of the existence at one time of a very significant group of workers of mental labor ("people of the free professions") and thereby of the heterogeneity of the intelligentsia according to such a most important social feature as the relationship to the means of production.

Second, the intelligentsia is divided into the /urban/ and the /rural/ intelligentsia. The difference in the way of life between residents of the city and the countryside is also typical of the intelligentsia. It finds

expression, for example, in the fact that the agronomists, livestock experts, physicians, teachers, accountants and other specialists, who live in rural areas, for their most part tend a subsidiary farm on the plot of land allocated for this.

Third, there is a social different between /organizing/ and /executive/ labor, which is inherent in society as a whole, but is also observed within the sphere of mental labor. A certain portion of organizing labor is characteristic of the activity of many categories of specialists, for example, teachers. But only the labor of managers in the area of administration is primarily organizing labor. According to our calculations, in the total number of specialists they make up approximately one-fifth. They are managers of enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, construction projects, hospitals, higher educational institutions and so on, their deputies, as well as the managers of the structural subdivisions of enterprises and organizations. In their aggregate they form the stratum of managers in the sphere of the economy, culture and sociopolitical life. The majority of specialists at present are mainly skilled executors. They are physicians, secondary school teachers and instructors of the higher school, engineers and technicians in planning and design organizations, rank and file scientists at scientific research institutes of various types and so on.

Under the conditions of socialism organizing activity is by no means the privilege of managerial personnel, who are engaged in this activity permanently as the main job. Millions of workers are actively participating in the management of production and social affairs. But at the present stage socialist society cannot do without skilled, experienced, stable staffs of managerial personnel.

At the same time it is necessary to emphasize that the stratum of managerial personnel in a socialist society is an integral part of the people. Very revealing data on the social origin of managerial personnel in the USSR are cited in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress. More than 80 percent of the secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, the kray party committees and oblast party committees, the chairmen of the councils of ministers, the kray and oblast soviet executive committees and about 70 percent of the ministers and chairmen of USSR state committees began their activity as workers and peasants.[8] The stratum of managers is continuously being replenished, drawing in talented organizers from all groups of Soviet society. But it is a matter of not only social origin and the initial social status. The main thing is that managerial personnel, like all the Soviet intelligentsia, serve the cause of the people and at the same time control it, which is backed by the mechanism of soviet and party democracy.

Fourth, in order to understand the social structure of the intelligentsia under present conditions it is necessary to take into account those /social differences/ within it, which are attributable to /the degree of complexity of the labor being performed, its skill/, and therefore its pay. The

analysis of this "cross section" makes it possible to distinguish within the intelligentsia (with allowance made for the above-stated reservations concerning the incomplete coincidence of the nature of labor with the received education) /three strata/: 1) specialists with a secondary specialized education: technicians, nurses and similar categories; 2) specialists with a complete higher education--physicians, engineers and similar categories; 3) the stratum of the most experienced and creatively active workers in science, technology, art, journalism, political and economic management, which is comparatively small numerically, but very important with respect to the functions being performed.

What is the approximate size of these strata, their "proportion" within the intelligentsia? Whereas the first and second groups are taken directly into account by current statistics, the determination of the composition of the third stratum is more complicated. With minor exception, it includes people with a higher education, who are taken into account by statistics with respect to the second group. In the area of science with a certain degree of conditionality it is possible to assign the people who have academic degrees to the most skilled portion. If it is presumed that approximately one-fourth of the workers of this stratum are concentrated in science and another fourth each are concentrated in the sphere of management, in engineering organizations of a creative nature (design bureaus, planning organizations), in literature, art, journalism, legal practice and other areas of the humanities, the approximate ratio of the size of the indicated strata can be specified as 58.6 percent, 35.2 percent and 6.2 percent.[9]

Fifth, the structure of the intelligentsia is characterized by the existence of /detachments/ which are engaged in various areas of the economy and culture.

The main ones of these detachments are: a) the /production/ intelligentsia which in turn is divided into engineering and technical personnel, agricultural specialists (agronomists, livestock experts, veterinarians) and economists, who are employed in the sphere of production; b) the /medical/ intelligentsia, to which belong physicians, doctor's assistants, nurses, workers of medical and public health laboratories, as well as instructors and teachers of physical culture; c) the /teaching/ intelligentsia--teachers of kindergartens, teachers of schools of all types, instructors of vocational and technical schools and secondary specialized schools, and in part of higher educational institutions; d) the /cultural-educational/ intelligentsia--librarians, cultural organizers, the propaganda personnel of public organizations and the mass media; e) the /artistic/ intelligentsia--figures of literature and art, actors, musicians, cinematographers and so on; f) the /administrative/ intelligentsia, which is concentrated in the staff of administration, legal bodies, the banking and financial system and so on; g) the /scientific/ intelligentsia, including the highly skilled teaching personnel of the higher school, who actually conduct scientific research; h) the /military/ intelligentsia.

To be sure, the cited division is not "strict." In many cases it is possible without difficulty to indicate marginal groups, the partial combinations of the indicated detachments with each other. Thus, some of the instructors of higher educational institutions, who do not have academic degrees, titles and experience in science, should be regarded as scientific personnel with some degree of conditionality; they must rather be classed with educators, teachers. An administrative staff exists in each sphere of activity, and therefore the managers of engineering services, schools, higher educational institutions, artistic collectives and so on simultaneously act both as managers and as the most skilled representatives of their occupation.

The differences between the detachments of the intelligentsia act as /occupational/ differences, for the detachments in question are "blocks" of related occupations. At the same time under present conditions they also maintain to a certain extent a /social/ nature as a result of unequal working conditions, pay, the peculiarities of the social psychology and the way of life of the people belonging to these groups. Therefore, the division of the intelligentsia into detachments, in our opinion, should be regarded as a /social-occupational/ division.

When determining the essence of social differences and the means of overcoming them the attention of researchers is focused first of all on the socio-economic differences. The criteria of the differences, which are noted in the most complete definition of classes in Marxist literature, which belongs to V. I. Lenin,[10] should, in our opinion, be applied to all social class relations.

The convergence of all the social groups and strata of the mature socialist society with respect to the means of production is based first of all on the rapidly progressing convergence (and in part the merging) of the national and kolkhoz-cooperative /forms of ownership/. The strengthening of kolkhozes, the extension of their contacts with state enterprises and with each other and the development of interkolkhoz, kolkhoz-sovkhoz and other interfarm associations with an increase of the level of the technical supply of agriculture is leading to the overcoming of the isolation of cooperatives, the increase of labor productivity and income at them and thereby to the convergence of kolkhoz farmers with the working class, first of all the workers of sovkhozes as the detachment of the working class, which is the closest to them in the conditions of work and daily life. This also means that that portion of the rural intelligentsia, which works at kolkhozes and is its members, in its social status is differing less and less from the bulk of the intelligentsia.

The changes in the /nature of labor/, which result from scientific and technical progress, as well as the changes stemming from this in /the social division of labor/, in /its organization/, play a special role for overcoming the differences between workers of physical and mental labor, as well as within the latter.

The development of equipment and technology is transforming science more and more into an immediate productive force. This finds expression, on the one hand, in the increase of the absolute and relative number of workers of mental labor (from 17.2 percent in 1939 to 23.1 percent in 1978),[11] particularly in the sphere of production, and, on the other, in the /intellectualization of physical labor/.

The process of saturating physical labor with intellectual functions is displayed to the greatest extent at the enterprises and in the sectors, which determine the rate of technical progress. Newer and newer occupational groups of workers, who control complicated equipment and whose labor already today is either primarily physical with a very high proportion of mental efforts or is becoming mainly mental labor, since the control of complicated units, as well as the installation, adjustment and repair of modern equipment require first of all a high level of special knowledge, and not just practical skills, are forming within the Soviet working class. This still does not mean the elimination of the differences between these workers and the intelligentsia. At the same time the definition of the working class under socialism as "the population of people of physical labor in the national economy" today should be recognized as an inadequate definition, which does not take into account the new phenomena in the life of Soviet society.

The concept "primarily physical labor," which has won recognition, basically correctly expresses the physical and direct nature of the influence of a worker on the means of production. But only basically. Thus, it has been calculated that the proportion of mental efforts for a steelworker at electric furnaces is 83 percent, for adjusters of automatic lines--93-96 percent. The definition of the labor of workers as "primarily physical" is correct at this time with respect to the overwhelming majority of workers. However, it inadequately takes into account the fact that the functions of the monitoring of automatic equipment and the control of units by means of instruments are becoming for a number of working occupations the main ones. The process of the convergence of physical and mental labor in them has advanced so far, that it is already possible to speak of their fundamental combination.

In Soviet sociological literature of the early 1960's this part of the working class received the name of the stratum of "worker intellectuals."[12] This term at times arouses arguments. It should be noted that it has already entered the literature and is used in the works and speeches of executives of the party and state, as well as prominent Soviet scholars.[13] However, the main thing lies not in the term, but in the new phenomenon, which is of the greatest social importance.

The progress of technology now already requires of a significant share of the workers knowledge to the extent of the tekhnikum, and at times even of a higher educational institution. In USSR industry about one-fourth of all the people, who graduated from secondary specialized educational institutions, are employed at workplaces. Not differing in the level of education

from technicians, who hold the post of foremen, chiefs of sections and shops, laboratory workers and so on, these people, of course, belong to the working class. The marginal stratum, which "worker intellectuals" are, is not a group which "hangs" somewhere between the working class and the intelligentsia. It is a /stratum of the working class/, a stratum, the enlargement of which seems to us to be one of the most promising directions of the development of the social structure.

L. I. Brezhnev called workers, who control complicated modern equipment, "production workers of a new type."[14] The appearance of the /new/ is a typical trait of any process of development. It is impossible to recognize as valid the attempts of some scholars to deny the existence of the indicated stratum of the working class on the pretext that, they say, in a socialist society new strata "cannot" arise. In a certain sense the socialist working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the national intelligentsia are also /new/, since their social nature is /qualitatively/ different than under capitalism. In this case it is a matter of new /marginal/ strata, which form /in the process/ of the convergence of classes and social groups, the overcoming of the class differences under the conditions of mature socialism.

What is the number of "worker intellectuals"? In 1970, according to the census, among people of primarily physical labor there were about 2.5 million people with a secondary specialized, incomplete higher (correspondence students and evening students of the senior classes or people who have interrupted education at a higher educational institution) and a higher education. This is 31 people per 1,000 employed people (44 in the city, 15 in the country).[15] However, it must be taken into account that far from all the indicated people work in conformity with the obtained specialty. Other data of statistics, as well as the results of concrete sociological studies should also be used for a more complete appraisal of the "thickness" of this stratum.

According to our estimates, in 1975 approximately 1.7 million certified specialists, who perform the functions of producers of material wealth, were in the USSR working class, which was approximately 3 percent of the number of all workers. But among the representatives of different occupations the proportion of this stratum is different. According to the 1970 census, people with a secondary specialized, incomplete higher and higher education constituted: among blast furnace attendants and steelworkers 9.8 percent, adjusters 16.5 percent, operators for the production of petroleum and gas 8.4 percent, instrument control men in the chemical industry 9.7 percent and so forth.[16] In the petroleum refining industry in 1973 44 percent of all the certified specialists were employed at workplaces, 12.7 percent of the workers had diplomas. In ferrous metallurgy these figures were respectively 39 and 8.7 percent, in the chemical industry--33 and 9.1 percent and so on.[17]

In scientific literature and periodicals it has been noted more than once that specialists with a diploma at times are used irrationally at the

workplaces--either due to the lack of vacant places of engineering and technical personnel at the given enterprise or as a result of that organization of pay, when a skilled worker can receive a higher wage than a foreman, a shift chief, a production engineer in a shop and so on. In the interests of the matter /every/ specialist must be used rationally. But these cases should not overshadow the main thing: a new stratum of the working class, which borders on the intelligentsia, arose under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution. A similar process is also under way among the kolkhoz peasantry. People of primarily physical labor, who have a diploma and the knowledge of a specialist and use it for the purposes of operating modern equipment at their workplace, belong to these strata. The question of whether a certain portion of the workers and kolkhoz farmers with a complete secondary general education, who have received in courses or in the process of practical work substantial technical knowledge and who perform such functions, should be grouped with this stratum, is being discussed in sociological literature.

In the increase of the size of the stratum of workers and kolkhoz farmers in question, which is closest to the specialists employed in the production sphere, it is impossible not to see the germs of the process of their future merging with the intelligentsia. The worker of this type is a prototype of the worker of the production sphere, who integrally combines in his activity skilled physical labor with skilled mental labor.

On the other hand, under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution the process of /the technicalization of the mental labor/ of a significant group of specialists is accelerating. This is mainfested most clearly in the plant sector of science, in experimental production and at scientific research institutes. The introduction of new complicated equipment increases the proportion of skilled physical labor in the activity of many categories of specialists. The teaching process is being saturated with technical means of instruction: the educational film, television, programmed instruction is being introduced. Diverse medical equipment is being used more and more extensively for the treatment of patients, as well as for diagnosis. Similar changes are also occurring in the labor of other detachments of the intelligentsia, which requires of many groups of specialists a knowledge of equipment and the mastery of the practical skills for its operation, that is, the mastery of the elements of highly skilled physical labor.

Thus, scientific and technical progress determines the dual nature of the process of the convergence of workers and engineering and technical personnel and further of all workers of physical and mental labor, during which broad strata of the intelligentsia acquire traits of the leading portion of the working class. In this phenomenon it is already possible today to see grains, elements, features of their merging. But this is a lengthy process. V. I. Lenin predicted that the intelligentsia "will remain a special stratum until the achievement of the highest level of development of communist society."[18]

The question of the convergence of organizing and executive labor, of the means of overcoming the social difference within the intelligentsia between the stratum engaged in organizing labor and the bulk of it, which is engaged in executive labor, requires special examination. The main thing here is the further development of democracy both in the production collectives and in the entire life of society. The fulfillment of the measures, which are stipulated in documents of the party and the government on the improvement of the economic mechanism, the development of the initiative of labor collectives, including the drafting and adoption of counterplans, is called upon to play a significant role in expediting this process.[19]

The overcoming of all of the above-indicated differences is also taking place in /the sphere of distribution/. Until now not only the intelligentsia in the broad sense of this term, but also the group of specialists have differed negligibly in the level of income from other social strata. If we take the average wage of workers in industry to be 100 percent, the wage of employees and engineering and technical personnel in 1940 was respectively 111 and 215 percent, in 1978--81 and 118 percent.[20] The wage of employees (excluding engineering and technical personnel), which before the war on the average was higher than the wage of workers, is now lower than the latter. This is explained first of all by the fact that the average level of skills of workers has increased considerably, while the conditions of their labor, as a rule, are more difficult.

As to the wage of engineering and technical personnel in industry, before the war it exceeded the wage of a worker by more than twofold, while at present it exceeds it by less than one-fifth (in construction--by 10 percent). The rapid increase of the skills of workers is also expressed in this fact. However, the indicated process of the approach of the wage of the technician and the engineer to the wage of the skilled worker (and at times the excess of the latter over the former) often makes itself felt from the negative side. Numerous cases are known, when workers, who have received a diploma of a technician or an engineer as a result of studies without leave from work, do not strive to be transferred to positions of engineering and technical personnel out of material considerations. In this case, as in a number of others, the making of adjustments in the direction of the greater differentiation of the wage for individual categories of workers in the interests of increasing the efficiency and quality of labor does not change the essence of the process in question.

The differences /between/ social groups in the level of income at present are also less significant than /within/ each of them, including among workers of mental labor, who belong to the stratum of specialists. The difference between the starting wage of a specialist after graduation from a higher educational institution and the level of compensation of highly skilled workers (for example, doctors of sciences at higher educational institutions and scientific institutions) forms the ratio 1 : 4 or one close to it (it depends on the sector of the economy and culture). The significant "fork" in the pay of the different strata of the intelligentsia results from the differences in the level of complexity of labor and the need for

society to stimulate the aspiration to increase one's skills. The overcoming of the social differences between the group of nonspecialist employees and the group of specialists, and within the latter between the skills strata, is a long-term problem, since the complete elimination of the socio-economic heterogeneity of labor can be achieved only in the second phase of communism.

It should be taken into account, however, that the differences in the real security of social groups and strata under the conditions of mature socialism are substantially less than the differences in wages, since a very important factor of social integration in the sphere of distribution--/the accelerated increase of public consumption funds/--is in operation.

Thus, in all three of the distinguished spheres of socio-economic relations the main trend is /the increase of the social homogeneity of society/, which is embodied in the /convergence/ of both /social groups/ and /the strata and detachments belonging to them/. This general law is also in force within the intelligentsia.

Three important questions for our theme deserve special examination: 1) the role of social shifts and socially heterogeneous families in overcoming social differences, including within the intelligentsia; 2) the role of differences in the superstructure--in politics, the sense of justice and the observance of the standards of the law and morality, social psychology and so on (which along with socio-economic differences form the differences in the way of life and the means of convergence in this sphere; 3) the convergence of the nations and nationalities, which belong to the Soviet people, according to the nature of the social structure, including the proportion of the intelligentsia and its composition. In this article we do not have the opportunity to touch upon these questions, they require a special analysis.

In conclusion a few words about the general trends of the process in question, which were already covered in part above.

The social development of the mature socialist society under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution presumes an increase of the need for mental activity and an increasing intellectualization of physical labor. This is manifested in the increase of the proportion of specialists and employees among the employed population. However, such an increase is not unlimited. In the 1970's its rate decreased, and in the 1980's, in our opinion, it will slow even more, since the overall size of the main detachments of the intelligentsia (in education, health care, science and so on) is already adequate. The problem of increasing /the skills level/ of the workers of mental labor and thereby /the quality of their work/ is becoming the main problem. This trend is expressed in the fact that whereas before the war the proportion of specialists among workers of mental labor was less than one-third, at present it is more than two-thirds, and their number continues to increase, including by the replacement of "experienced workers" by certified specialists.

The problem of increasing the quality of higher and secondary specialized education is no less important. Given the unity of the syllabuses, the level of instruction at higher educational institutions and tekhnikums (and it depends on the staff of professors and instructors and the material and technical base) differs very substantially. The question of the quality of a VUZ education has two aspects: first, the consideration of the latest achievements of science and technology, second, the training of the graduate for future activity, his acquisition of practical occupational, as well as organizing skills, the ability to work with people.

The prospect of the development of the intelligentsia at the present stage is not its disappearance, "dissolving" among workers and peasants, just as it is not the "transformation" of all workers and kolkhoz farmers into intelligentsia. The convergence of classes and social groups is leading not to the absorption by one of the elements of the existing social structure of the other elements, but to the maturation of /a qualitatively new social structure which lacks a class nature/. The decisive role of the working class as the leading force in the building of a communist society finds expression in the fact that the traits of the future worker and citizen are being formed first of all in the midst of the working class. But the best qualities of the peasantry and the intelligentsia are also being inherited and absorbed by the entire society.

Along with the concept /"convergence"/ in characterizing the trends of development of the social structure the term /"merging"/ is also used. In our opinion, these concepts are close, but not equivalent. The merging of social groups and strata, of course, will take place in the future, when all social differences will have been overcome, that is, with "the abolition of classes," at the second phase of communist society. Merging acts as the /result/ of the process of convergence and as an /internal trend/ which is inherent in it.

More than 60 years ago V. I. Lenin, in specifying the means of fulfilling the program principle of the theory of scientific communism on "the abolition of classes," not by chance called the overcoming of the differences between physical and mental labor the last in a series of historical tasks, which should be solved one after another for the achievement of the indicated goal. "This is a very lengthy matter," V. I. Lenin concluded.[21] Modern Soviet society, which is at the stage of mature socialism, has traversed a enormous historical path in solving this historical task. But even today the problem of the convergence of workers of physical and mental labor is one of the most important and most complicated problems facing the Communist Party and all Soviet society.

FOOTNOTES

1. See L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" /By the Leninist Course/, Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 627.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 8, p 309.

3. See, for example, "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1977/, Moscow, 1978, p 21.

4. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 6, p 321.

5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 4, p 209.

6. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 54, p 311.

7. See "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g." /Results of the 1970 All-Union Census/, Vol 6, Moscow, 1972, p 629.

8. "Materialy XXIV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 24th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1971, pp 98, 99.

9. See M. N. Rutkevich, "Intelligentsiya v razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve" /The Intelligentsia in a Mature Socialist Society/, Moscow, 1977, p 47.

10. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 39, p 15.

11. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1978/, Moscow, 1979, p 9.

12. See "Pod"yem kul'turno-tekhnicheskogo urovnya rabochego klassa SSSR" /The Increase of the Cultural and Technical Level of the USSR Working Class/, Moscow, 1961.

13. See, for example, V. V. Shcherbitskiy, "XXV s"yezd KPSS o sovershenstvovanii sotsialisticheskogo obraza zhizni i formirovanii novogo cheloveka" /The 25th CPSU Congress on the Improvement of the Socialist Way of Life and the Formation of the New Man/, Moscow, 1977; P. Fedoseyev, "The USSR Constitution and the Socialist Way of Life," KOMMUNIST, No 2, 1978, p 10.

14. L. I. Brezhnev, "O Konstitutsii SSSR" /On the USSR Constitution/, Moscow, 1977, p 64.

15. "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.," Vol 6, pp 3, 610.

16. Ibid., pp 620-622.

17. VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 7, 1974, pp 93-95.

18. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 44, p 351.

19. See "Ob uluchshenii planirovaniya i usilenii vozdeystviya khozyaystvennogo mekhanizma na povysheniye effektivnosti i kachestvo raboty" /On

Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality/, Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 12 July 1979, Moscow, 1979.

20. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g.," p 372.

21. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 39, p 15.

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TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT RURAL INTELLIGENTSIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 75-86

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Ivanovich Staroverov, chief of the Sector of Social Development of the Countryside of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The decrease of the scale of physical labor and the increase of the scale of mental labor are a regularity of the social development of the Soviet countryside under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. And, whereas for the country as a whole (in the city in particular) the growth rate of the proportion of workers of mental labor in recent years has slowed, in the countryside it has increased: at present they have the ratio 1 : 1.8. Of course, in the future--in our opinion, to the end of the 1980's--the subsiding of the growth rate of the proportion of workers of mental labor will also extend to the countryside. For the present the objective needs for the comprehensive industrialization of agriculture and the radical social, general and cultural transformation of the Soviet countryside, which was outlined in the decisions of the party and the government,[1] are responsible for the progressive dynamism of the increase in the countryside of both the number and the proportion of workers of mental labor.

The examined trend is most typical of the rural intelligentsia, that is, specialists who are engaged in highly skilled mental labor, for the performance of which a higher or secondary specialized education is required, for it is they who are standing on the precipice of the scientific and technical progress of the countryside, its cultural development. The presence of a certain optimum of them is a necessary condition of the further development of the countryside on the basis of an advanced scientific and technical base and technology, the familiarization of rural inhabitants with the best achievements of world culture. And the more advanced this technology is, the richer the spectrum and content of the cultural values being assimilated by the rural inhabitants are and the more perfect the organization of nonproduction activity in the countryside is, the greater this optimum is.

The rural intelligentsia is an integral component of the Soviet intelligentsia, but a specific component, which has essential social differences. It is important to emphasize the latter in connection with the current point

point of view that the entire Soviet intelligentsia is socially homogeneous, and if there is inequality, it is limited to the framework of occupational differentiation. The comparison of analogous detachments of the rural and urban intelligentsia shows that in per capita income the latter exceeds the former by 1.4-fold in industry, 1.3-fold in construction, 1.7-fold in trade, personal service and cultural service, 1.8-fold in the area of health care, 1.4-fold in the area of education (excluding instructors of higher educational institutions); in the number of years of training the differences are 1.3-fold as a whole (excluding experienced workers) with a range of fluctuations of 1.2-fold for teachers to 1.6-fold for medical workers (the data of our sample surveys in Bryanskaya Oblast, 1978). The nonuniformity in free time, cultural and leisure activity, nonoccupational interests, schedules of labor activity and so on, that is, in all the most important social characteristics of social groups, is still significant. This nonuniformity runs along the cut of the substantial social differences between the city and the countryside and places the rural intelligentsia in a special social detachment of the Soviet intelligentsia, which has a certain community as a component of the social class structure.

However, the specific social unity of the rural intelligentsia does not mean the absence of its internal social differentiation. Since its social composition and changes in it to a certain extent characterize the general directions and trends of the development of the rural intelligentsia, let us examine them in more detail.

As is known, Lenin's criteria of classes are used in their fundamental continuity, and the relations of ownership, in our opinion, should be included in both the interclass and intraclass classification. On the level of intraclass differentiation it is necessary to proceed from the differences of people with respect to the place in the social organization of labor and the nature of their labor, which is connected with it, in which the relations of ownership are reflected. As is noted in the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the different types of labor yield the corresponding types of the nature of labor. The latter, in reflecting the "social structure of labor,"[2] results from the relation of workers to the means of production, determines their social differences in labor and, thus, is not simply an economic and not simply a technological criterion, as some authors presume, but a socio-economic criterion, which characterizes the intraclass and intragroup social heterogeneity.

In conformity with these criteria the workers of mental labor in the countryside are divided into: detachments of kolkhoz and state workers of mental labor, as well as a ranked, small group of representatives of the free creative occupations; specialists of the highest and intermediate skills and experienced workers, who hold posts which require a higher or secondary specialized education, as well as nonspecialist employees; those engaged in primarily organizing or primarily executive labor; those engaged in the sectors of physical production and in the nonproductive sphere; the socio-professional or sectorial detachments of the engineering, technical, agricultural, medical, teaching, administrative intelligentsia and so on and

the corresponding socioprofessional detachments of the nonspecialist employees.

Some authors, while recognizing the legitimacy of distinguishing the state detachment of workers of mental labor and the group of people of the free creative occupations, object to the singling out of a detachment of the kolkhoz intelligentsia. They include these workers in the class of the kolkhoz peasantry, giving as the reason for this the fact that the labor of both is based on the kolkhoz-cooperative form of ownership, statistics do not separate them and, moreover, the singling out of workers of mental labor from the class of the kolkhoz peasantry "impoverishes" its social character.

The inconsistency of these conclusions is manifested in the fact that they are not advanced when examining the working class and the state detachment of workers of mental labor, who are in a similar relationship to ownership, but not kolkhoz-cooperative ownership, rather to national ownership. Meanwhile in both instances the form of ownership governs the social character of the workers of mental labor only to the extent to which it determines the nature and content of their labor activity, as well as the place in the system of the social division of labor, which act as the main criterion of the differences both between the workers of physical and mental labor and between the individual groups of the latter. The form of ownership of the means of production acts as the main feature of the class membership only of those workers who directly or indirectly affect them in the process of their labor activity on creating material wealth, and this influence is predominant in the set of functions performed by them. The workers of mental labor for their most part are engaged in mental production, the organization of people, the accounting of their labor and so forth; this functional aspect of activity is more important for them than the other determinants of their social status. In this connection social differences also exist between workers of mental labor at kolkhozes and the kolkhoz peasantry, which is engaged in primarily physical labor.

In the nature and content of labor the workers of mental labor at kolkhozes are closer not to the peasantry, but to the remainder of the specialists and employees, and therefore constitute along with them to a certain extent a united social group. However, since the ownership of the means of production is reflected in the nature and content of labor, and to an even greater extent in the conditions of vital activity, it determines to one extent or another the specific nature of the social status of the workers connected with it, which makes it necessary to distinguish them as an independent kolkhoz detachment of workers of mental labor.

As is known, this detachment is not specially singled out by the statistics of the Central Statistical Administration. This is explained by the fact that the form of class registration was made up many years ago, when kolkhozes did not have their own specialists, but were served by agronomists, livestock experts and other workers of the rayon land departments and the machine and tractor stations. Even the managers of kolkhozes in their

overwhelming majority did not have a specialized education. They were frequently replaced and often did not actually stand out in any way from the peasant mass, performing on the field or at the farm the same work as the rank and file kolkhoz farmers. The kolkhoz intelligentsia began to develop intensively only in the 1950's, but even in the 1960's the proportion of specialists among kolkhoz farmers did not exceed 1 percent, in 1970--2.3 percent, and only by 1980 did it rise to 5 percent. Other detachments of the workers of mental labor at kolkhozes also traversed a similar path. Today we have a quite large detachment of kolkhoz workers of mental labor, which has its own specific nature with respect to both the nonkolkhoz portion of this group and the kolkhoz peasantry, and along with this traits in common with them. The similarity with the entire mass of workers of mental labor is governed by the uniformity of the nature and content of labor, the specific nature is governed by the differences in the conditions of its application and the vital activity as a whole, including the differences connected with the form of ownership. The kolkhoz workers of mental labor are separated from the peasantry with respect to the criterion of the dissimilarity of the nature and content of labor, while what is common between them is governed by the specific nature of production relations within the framework of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership and by a certain unity of the conditions of vital activity.

As to the fear of "impoverishing" the peasantry by separating from it the kolkhoz workers of mental labor, it has no basis, for its "enrichment" is connected not with the increase of the number or proportion of the latter, but with an increase of the intellectualization, the creative nature of physical labor in the process of the occurring scientific and biotechnical revolution. The workers of mental labor, especially specialists, by being the bearers of scientific and technical progress, culture and education in the countryside, promote this, but the transformation of the material and technical base of the countryside and the changes corresponding to it in the nature and content of agricultural labor, which are the result of an entire set of factors which ensure the progressive development of the Soviet countryside, play the main role here.

Within the above-examined detachments the workers of mental labor in the countryside in turn are divided into specialists of the highest and intermediate skills, as well as nonspecialist employees. Since the skill of mental labor is adequately expressed in the level of specialized education, we have in mind first of all workers of mental labor with diplomas from higher educational institutions and tekhnikums, on the one hand, and those who do not need a diploma to perform their duties, on the other. Along with specialists who have diplomas for an education conforming to the job being performed, in the countryside the contingent of so-called experienced workers is still significant. We class with them the workers who hold the positions of specialists, without having a diploma, or having a diploma not in accordance with the specialization of the job, as well as the graduates of tekhnikums, who work in a position which requires a higher education. This concerns first of all the leaders of the intermediate link--the leaders of multiple-skill brigades, the chiefs of farms, as well as

specialists of the engineering and technical services, among whom the proportion of experienced workers is still great (see Table 1). As our studies show, in the oblasts of the Russian Nonchernozem Zone more than one-half of them are studying or are preparing to study at higher and seconda y agricultural educational institutions, many have acquired the necessary level of knowledge by self-instruction, at the same time there are still those who fall short of the held position and are liable to replacement.

Table 1

Proportion of Management Personnel and Specialists at Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes of the USSR, Who Have a Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, Percent of the Total Number of Workers in Each Position*

Positions	Kolkhozes			Sovkhozes		
	1966	1971	1979	1966	1971	1979
Chairmen of kolkhozes	69.6	84.0	95.1	--	--	--
Directors of sovkhozes	--	--	--	91.8	95.8	98.7
Released deputy chairmen of kolkhozes	44.4	66.7	85.6	--	--	--
Department managers	--	--	--	40.6	47.8	65.1
Chief specialists	--	--	96.4	96.0	94.0	97.4
Agronomists	94.6	96.4	96.8	89.7	92.1	94.7
Livestock experts	91.0	94.5	94.6	83.2	87.1	91.4
Veterinarians, veterinary technicians, veterinary assistants	50.4	68.3	75.8	65.1	71.9	81.4
Engineers and technicians (mechanics)	43.4	60.8	65.1	38.5	52.0	66.4
Leaders of production brigades	10.4	20.5	41.6	20.5	27.5	43.2
Chiefs of livestock farms, animal husbandry	10.9	20.0	47.0	17.0	22.7	45.5

*Calculated according to "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1965 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1965/, Moscow, 1966, pp 440-442; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1970 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1970/, Moscow, 1971, pp 409-411; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1978/, Moscow, 1979, pp 290-292.

It is necessary to note one regularity, which was discovered in the comparative analysis of the data of a number of studies: in 1966 at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Novgorodskaya Oblast, which we studied, 90-95 percent of the experienced workers, who had been appointed to the positions of brigade leaders, chiefs of farms, agricultural mechanization engineers, due to the level of general training or age could not and did not want to study at higher educational institutions and tekhnikums. In 1978 at the farms studied in Bryanskaya Oblast about 40 percent of the experienced workers newly appointed to these positions had already been students of the corresponding educational institutions, that is, their appointment was not a promotion in the strict sense of this word, but a social shift in conformity with the acquisition of an occupation and the increase of skills.

Along with the decreasing contingent of experienced workers without diplomas a stratum of nonspecialist employees, who have graduated from higher educational institutions or tekhnikums and whose education is not connected with the nature of the labor being performed, exists in the countryside (moreover, it is increasing numerically). The existence of this stratum and the increase of its size are connected in part with the inadequate choice in the countryside of occupations for second members of the family, and in a number of instances with the unattractiveness for those having diplomas in a previously chosen profession. Frequently the graduates of tekhnikums become secretary-typists, agents, shipping clerks, that is, nonspecialist employees of intermediate skill, in some cases they join the contingent of semiskilled and unskilled workers of mental labor, such as timekeepers, recordkeepers and so on. In both instances they no longer belong to the rural intelligentsia: the nature of their labor leaves a mark on all the characteristics of their social makeup and on their way of life.

Sociological studies show that the differences between these groups of workers of mental labor are social: specialists of the highest and intermediate skills and nonspecialist employees of intermediate skills, as well as semiskilled and unskilled workers of mental labor, according to the data of our studies, correlate with each other in the level of education (number of years of training) as 1.0 : 0.7 : 0.5 : 0.4, in pay as 1.0 : 0.6 : 0.44 : 0.31, in other social characteristics--in close proportions.

Work in primarily organizing or primarily executive labor is one of the important features of the social heterogeneity of the workers of mental labor in the countryside. With the development of democracy the multimillion masses of Soviet workers are performing organizing functions on a public basis. This also pertains to the workers of mental labor, including specialists, a large portion of whom are skilled executives who perform organizing operations as public work. At the same time for specialists of the sphere of management organizing functions constitute the main content of their occupations. In the countryside these workers are divided into organizers of the highest and intermediate links. As is evident from Table 1, the former (chairmen of kolkhozes, directors of sovkhozes, chief specialists and so on) consist primarily of people with a higher education. The situation is worse with leaders of the intermediate link, among whom, as before, the majority are specialists. As a result of this the chief specialists and other representatives of the highest organizing link often need to engage in the performance of functions of the management of the lower links, which are not characteristic of them, to the detriment of their own duties.

The division of specialists into categories of organizers depending on the level of their skills is of a social nature: according to the data of our study, organizers of the highest and intermediate links correlate with each other in the level of education as 1.0 : 0.66, in pay as 1.0 : 0.71. The differences in the sphere of spiritual interests, the consumption of cultural values and so on are even more significant.

Certain differences are noted between the workers of mental labor, who are engaged in physical production and in the nonproductive sphere. Whereas the former work, as a rule, in large collectives, with which they are connected by all their interests and which they are constantly under the control of, workers of mental labor of the nonproductive sphere, with the exception of secondary school teachers, either are out of touch with base collectives or belong to small labor cells. Meanwhile the latter, as studies show, provide a lower level of collectivism, of involvement in public activity, in the system of political education and so on, which, of course, in the end, affects the social character of this portion of the workers of mental labor.

Finally, the social differences between the sectorial detachments of workers of mental labor in the countryside still retain their importance and require surmounting. They result from the unequal development of productive forces in the production sphere, the unequal conditions of labor and pay of the workers of the nonproductive sphere and a number of other factors. Thus, according to the data of sample surveys, the correlation between rural teachers and cultural organizers in the level of education in the Nonchernozem countryside is 1.0 : 0.6, in pay 1.0 : 0.63. The differences in the provision of housing, especially its quality, and so on are significant. Differences are also traced between other sectorial workers of mental labor. And in the countryside they are more pronounced than in the city.

A multivariate analysis makes it possible to distinguish for the entire population of workers of mental labor in the countryside several tens of social categories, including 42 categories of the intelligentsia, which differ quite specifically from each other according to the most essential traits of the social character, first of all by the nature and content of labor. The efficiency of such a classification was checked by us in the process of a number of concrete sociological studies of the social structure of the rural population, which were conducted in 1977-1979 by the Sector of Social Development of the Countryside of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the Udmurtskaya ASSR, Bryanskaya, Vladimirskaya, Kalininskaya and Moscow oblasts. Of course, the need for the analysis of workers of mental labor on the basis of such a minute grouping, which numbers tens of divisions, rarely arises in practice. But such groups really exist, and the need to take them into account with respect to one cross section or another necessarily arises in the process of the social planning of labor collectives, small and large rural regions, as well as in the elaboration of social policy on a state scale. As the analysis of the trends of development of the various social groups of workers of mental labor in the countryside shows, many miscalculations in the training and attachment of personnel arise as a result of the inadequately differentiated approach to this complex category of workers of the Soviet countryside.

The trends of the quantitative and qualitative changes in the different groups of workers of mental labor in the countryside as a whole and of the rural intelligentsia in particular are ambiguous (see Table 2). At the

kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Udmurtskaya ASSR, which we studied, the proportion of specialists engaged in plant growing and animal husbandry is increasing, their total number is decreasing due to the very intensive decrease of the contingent of the rural population as a whole. At the same time the latter does not pertain to the contingent of specialists employed in nonagricultural production and in the nonproductive sphere, where a quantitative and proportional increase of the intelligentsia is occurring, since the rapid development of the processing industry and municipal and personal services is now characteristic of the Nonchernozem countryside as a whole and the Udmurt countryside in particular. Similar processes are also taking place in other regions of the country, with the sole difference that the outflow of the agricultural population, which is causing a decrease of the number of specialists, is not as intense everywhere.

Table 2

Changes in the Composition of the Rural Population of the Udmurtskaya ASSR

Category of the population	1959	1970	1976	Size of 1976 as a percentage of 1959
Agricultural population	76	59	52	53
including:				
specialists	3.1	3.1	3.7	79
of them:				
production specialists	0.8	1.1	1.2	89
management specialists	0.8	0.5	0.9	81
middle level managers	1.5	1.5	1.6	71
Those employed in nonagricultural production	21	33	37	116
including:				
specialists	1.4	1.6	1.9	105
Those employed in the nonproductive sphere	3.0	8	11	198
including:				
specialists	1.2	2.3	2.6	146
Total	100	100	100	66

The comparison of analogous groups of the kolkhoz and state detachments of the intelligentsia (see Table 1) shows that in the rate of growth the former is outpacing the latter, in absolute indicators, including the proportionate growth, it is the other way round. This is the result of the fact that sovkhoz production, being on a larger scale than kolkhoz production, is experiencing a greater influence of scientific and technical progress and therefore makes a greater demand for mental labor. Let us note that in recent years a convergence of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in this direction and an improvement of their social composition have been noticed, which is being promoted by the policy of the specialization and concentration of

agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration. The studies at agro-industrial associations of Moldavia and specialized enterprises of the Moscow area, which were conducted under our direction by N. V. Tsurkanu and L. Ya. Aver'yanov, show that specialized production makes a higher demand for skilled mental labor as compared with multisectorial production (see Table 4).

Table 3

Dynamics of the Employment of Workers at USSR Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes in 1960-1977*

Indicators of employment	1960	1965	1970	1977
Employed at kolkhozes, millions of people	22.3	18.9	17.0	14.6
Specialists at kolkhozes, thousands of people	222	232	390	607
Percent of specialists among kolkhoz farmers	1.0	1.3	2.3	4.2
Employed at sovkhozes, millions of people	6.3	8.6	10.0	11.6
Specialists at sovkhozes, thousands of people	166	264	442	808
Percent of specialists among workers of sovkhozes	2.6	3.1	4.4	7.0

*The estimate is ours.

Table 4

Proportion of Workers of Mental Labor in Collectives of Agro-Industrial Associations, Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes, Percent

Social groups	Agro-industrial associations	On the average for kolkhozes and sovkhozes
Specialists of the sphere of management	6.23	2.92
Specialists of production and nonproductive spheres	6.51	2.37
Nonspecialist employees	8.75	4.60
Total	21.49	9.89

Under the conditions of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration the role of administrative labor is gradually increasing. "All party, soviet and economic organizations and all collectives of workers"[3] perform it, at the same time the role of professional organizers is also important. The effectiveness of the use of the mighty technological systems, on which modern specialization and the possibilities of concentrating production and, consequently, the success of the entire matter are based, depends in many ways on the precise setting of the goals, on the means and methods of

solving certain specific production problems of others. This is especially important for the activity of agro-industrial association, in which two such different sectors as industry and agriculture are united. The need for the efficient guarantee of the interaction and interconnection of basically heterogeneous production elements and the continuous functioning of the entire complex set of technological operations and socio-economic ties explains the fact that the proportion of administrative and management personnel in the labor collectives of agro-industrial associations is 6.23 percent, while at kolkhozes and sovkhozes it is only 2.93 percent.

Such a correlation formed at these enterprises with the group of specialists who are employed in the production and nonproductive spheres, as well as with skilled nonspecialist employees.

The trends of the change in the composition of the workers of mental labor in the countryside according to the feature of the level of their skill are of interest. At present on the whole an increase of the number and proportion of all categories of these workers is being noticed, and, since semiskilled and unskilled mental labor in the countryside in past years developed more intensively than highly skilled mental labor, the contingent of representatives of it along with nonspecialist employees of intermediate skills is more numerous than that of specialists. However, the previously mentioned studies of labor collectives of specialized agricultural enterprises and agro-industrial associations attest that at these enterprises there are already fewer nonspecialist employees than there are specialists. At the same time the analysis of statistics shows a decrease of the growth rate of the number and proportion of workers of average-skilled and semiskilled mental labor at kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the maintenance of a high growth rate of the contingent of specialists. This is occurring due to the intensive introduction of office equipment at specialized enterprises. These trends confirm the conclusion that as a result of the obliteration of the substantial differences between workers of mental and physical labor the social differences between workers and peasants, on the one hand, and intellectuals, on the other, disappear, but the intelligentsia remains as a special group until the achievement of complete social homogeneity.[8] Nonspecialist employees have a different fate: some of them become workers (operators of calculating equipment), others become specialists. They will arrive at communism "within the working class or the intelligentsia, but not as an independent social group."[9]

The trends of the changes in the composition of specialists are also ambiguous today. A certain decrease in the growth rate of some categories of highly skilled specialists and the more intensive increase of the number and proportion of average-skilled specialists have been noticed in recent years. This is the result of the fact that kolkhoz and sovkhoz production is already backed to a considerable extent by certified staffs of agronomists, livestock experts, veterinarians, and the further increase of the contingent of highly skilled specialists is taking place here primarily by means of specialists in the area of mechanization and electrification, reclamation and the chemicalization of agriculture. Industry, transportation,

construction and the nonproductive sphere in the countryside also act as consumers of highly skilled personnel.

As to average-skilled specialists, it is premature to speak about the saturation of the countryside with them. The overwhelming majority of leaders of the intermediate link at kolkhozes and sovkhozes as yet do not have a specialized education. Meanwhile, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the specialization and concentration of production, the increase of its scale and complexity it is becoming a vital necessity. Technology is being improved, the production economics ties of the links, mechanized detachments, farms and brigades are being broadened, the rank and file workers of agriculture are becoming more skilled and independent in solving production problems, which is raising the task of shifting to a new level of organization and management not only in the "upper echelons" of the economic mechanism, but also in the local links, and, consequently, the task of training personnel who are able to work under the new conditions.

The party and the Soviet Government have been devoting constant attention to the training and attachment to the countryside of middle level personnel. A positive shift in this direction occurred in the 1970's. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee (1976) "On the Work of the Rostovskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU on Reinforcing Agriculture With Middle Level Personnel, Machine Operators and Other Mass Occupations" and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers (1977) "On Additional Measures to Stimulate the Shift of Specialists of Agriculture to Work as Managers of Departments, Brigades, Farms and Other Subdivisions of the Middle Level of Production at Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes" are of fundamental importance in solving this problem.[6] In Rostovskaya Oblast up to 2,000 middle level managers, production leaders and graduates of rural general educational schools annually enroll in agricultural tekhnikums. Certified workers now head here more than half of all the departments, brigades and farms. In all 450 experienced workers are studying at tekhnikums and higher educational institutions by correspondence. Moreover, a school of agricultural management, at which several hundred leaders of the middle level annually undergo three months of further training, is in operation in the oblast. Work on probation the basis of leading brigades, farms and departments has been organized, up to 1,000 young specialists undergo it annually.

The know-how of Rostovskaya Oblast is becoming accessible to all the regions of the country. Thus, for the RSFSR for 1977-1980 it was planned to send to the local levels of production management 58,000 specialists, as well as 12,500 workers and kolkhoz farmers, who are studying by correspondence at agricultural higher educational institutions and tekhnikums. Of the experienced workers, who work in positions of middle level managers, it is planned to send 14,900 to tekhnikums and 18,800 to the correspondence divisions of agricultural educational institutions. At present 214,600 students are studying in the day divisions of agricultural tekhnikums, of them 91,300 are degree seekers of farms.[7]

The task consists in having among middle level managers in republic agriculture not less than 68-70 percent specialists by the start of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Of the noteworthy trends of the present development of the rural intelligentsia it is especially necessary to note the appearance of new types of workers of mental labor. They are appearing, first, on the basis of the combination of science and agricultural production, the formation and development of scientific production associations, at which the specialist production workers are often at the same time also scientists. Second, as a result of the intensification of the mechanization and electrification of farming and animal husbandry and the change in their technology, which are responsible for the appearance of the new specialties "livestock experts-engineers," "agronomist-engineers" and so on.

The quantitative changes in the rural intelligentsia is being accompanied by its qualitative improvement. Studies show the consistent increase of the level of education, the breadth of interests, the labor and sociopolitical activeness of all categories of skilled workers of mental labor in the countryside. On the whole they are close to agricultural workers and peasants. This is explained not only by the fact that their daily life and leisure time have the same material basis, but also by the sources of the formation of the rural production and nonproductive intelligentsia. In the overwhelming majority it is being reinforced by the children of the workers and peasants, who began their labor career as rank and file workers of agriculture. The social development of the present-day countryside is inseparably connected with the improvement of the social character of the entire population, including the intelligentsia. However, the latter is taking place very ambiguously and contradictorily.

Until very recently it was considered an axiom that in all the characteristics of spiritual development, as well as in many parameters of social character the workers of mental labor considerably outpace workers and peasants. As the professionalization of the agricultural population developed, skilled agricultural workers and peasants outpaced in their development not only semiskilled workers of mental labor, but also average-skilled nonspecialist employees. In recent years more and more cases have been observed that at times these groups already are outpacing specialists as well. This stems from the fact that, while improving the working conditions of the rank and file workers as agricultural production is industrialized, we are still doing little to regulate the working time of specialists. Our study in the Udmurtskaya ASSR showed that whereas the employment of rank and file collective farmers ranges from 246 to 291 man-days a year, for specialist employees of the middle level it is 301 man-days and for highly skilled specialists--305 man-days. The annual economic reports of kolkhozes and sovkhozes give a similar picture for other regions as well. In addition to the excessive average annual employment the specialists suffer from the disorderliness of the average daily budget of working time, which stems from the fact that they have to perform a large number of functions which are not a part of their duties (see Table 5). They have, as a rule, unstandardized

workday. Due to trips as "go-getters," poor transportation and bad communications with subdivisions the specialists of agriculture today have less free time than rank and file workers. Occupied with a large number of secondary matters, the constantly hurrying specialist does not follow the literature, limits his interests to purely professional interests and is transformed into an unappealing individual, which in the end affects the performance of his functions of an organizer, the bearer of culture and the creator of a favorable sociopsychological climate in the collective.

Table 5

Expenditures of Working Time of Agricultural Specialists on Performing Functions Not Characteristic of Them, Percent of Those Surveyed*

Version of response	Specialists			
	kolkhozes	sovkhozes	interfarm enterprises	agro-industrial associations
I spend time performing functions that are not mine	86	82	70	58
I resolve matters of my subordinates	77	48	60	49
I make calculations which any literate person could make	63	63	68	44
I often have to rewrite official documents	62	41	44	31
I gather necessary data	54	31	37	15
I coordinate matters which do not belong to my official duties	60	38	42	23

*See V. I. Staroverov, A. I. Timush, N. V. Tsurkanu, "Derevnya v usloviyakh integratii" [The Countryside Under the Conditions of Integration], Moscow, 1979, p 187.

First of all this pertains to specialists of the middle level of management, which in part stems from the specific nature of the formation of this contingent. Graduates of tekhnikums, who previously completed the eight-year school, make up a considerable share of them. The main attention at tekhnikums, of course, is devoted to special subjects, general educational subjects are often mastered poorly. Meanwhile, a larger and larger portion of the skilled agricultural workers and peasants is made up to young people who have completed the 10th grade, have received vocational and technical training and are continuing to engage persistently in self-instruction. These young people in the breadth of their interests, and at times in their activeness in various spheres of public life are superior to their own manager. The need has obviously come to admit people to tekhnikums only on the basis of a general secondary education. In this case the graduates of

technicums will be able to perform more successfully the functions not only of production organizers, but also of teachers of workers.

In this article we have dwelled primarily on the analysis of the trends of the internal development of the rural intelligentsia, without touching upon the specific nature of its social makeup, which was brought about by the maintenance of substantial differences between the city and the countryside, which requires a special discussion and the involvement of materials which go beyond a journal article. The examination of these trends demonstrates the preservation of certain differences of a social nature between the detachments and groups of the intelligentsia, the difference of direction in the development of specialists and nonspecialist employees, the mutual convergence of different contingents of the rural intelligentsia and the increase of its homogeneity. The data of our studies also attest to the social convergence of the intelligentsia with agricultural workers and peasants, but this aspect of the problems has been examined by us in detail in previous publications[8] and therefore is not touched upon here.

In conclusion it is necessary to say that, although the Soviet intelligentsia has achieved a considerable degree of social unity, the practice of planning and management cannot be confined to the statement of this, the consideration of the still preserved social differences within the unity itself, for the purposes of expediting the process of overcoming them, is especially important for it.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Leninskaya agrarnaya politika KPSS. Sbornik vazhneyshikh dokumentov (mart 1965 g.-iyul' 1978 g.)" /The Leninist Agrarian Policy of the CPSU. A Collection of the Most Important Documents (March 1965-July 1978)/, Moscow, 1978, p 680.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 7, p 45.

3. "Materialy XXIV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 24th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1971, p 65.

4. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 44, p 351.

5. S. A. Aitov, "On Some Debatable Questions of the Study of the Soviet Intelligentsia," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1979, p 31.

6. See "Leninskaya agrarnaya politika KPSS," pp 456, 642.

7. See "Podgotovka kadrov dlya sela" /The Training of Personnel for the Countryside/, Moscow, 1979, pp 8-9.

8. See A. M. Gelyuta, V. I. Staroverov, "Sotsial'nyy oblik rabochego-intelligenta" /The Social Character of the Worker-Intellectual/, Moscow, 1977; V. I. Staroverov, A. I. Timush, N. V. Tsurkanu, "Derevnya v usloviyakh integratsii" /The Countryside Under the Conditions of Integration/, Moscow, 1979, p 187.

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THE FORMATION OF REINFORCEMENTS OF THE SOCIALIST INTELLIGENTSIA (ON THE RESULTS OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDY)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 87-98

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Fridrikh Rafailovich Filippov, chief of the Department of the Social Structure of Soviet Society of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The study of the means and forms of training the young reinforcements of the intelligentsia and, consequently, the social shifts of young people is of both theoretical and applied importance. International comparative studies, which are becoming more and more a part of the practice of the multilateral cooperation of sociologists of the fraternal socialist countries, are of especially great interest. The successful implementation in the CEMA member countries of the Comprehensive Program of the Intensification and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration created the prerequisites for the further convergence of the main trends of the evolution of the social structure of these countries and for the enrichment of these general trends with forms of their manifestation, which are peculiar to each country. The discovery of the interrelationship of the general and the particular in the specific mechanisms of this process is an urgent problem of Marxist-Leninist science.

In 1976-1978 scientific institutions of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia undertook for the first time a joint study of the influence of higher education on the social structure.[1]

The central /problem/ /in boldface/ of the study is the correlation of the objective changes in the social structure of socialist society and the social integrating function of the higher school. The underlying principle of its program[2] was the assumption that under the conditions of socialism the higher school forms among all students, regardless of their social origin, common traits which are characteristic of the socialist intelligentsia, and creates for them extensive opportunities to transfer to the ranks of the highly skilled specialists. At the same time the socialist system of higher education also performs differentiating functions, distributing its

graduates among the different "detachments" of the intelligentsia and ensuring their transfer to the social group of workers of skilled mental labor.

When determining the /subject/ /in boldface/ of the study the comparability of the educational level in question in the different countries was taken into account.

The program presumed the solution of the following problems: 1) the study of the typical paths in life and value orientations of the young people enrolling in the higher school; 2) the determination of the social origin of the students and its influence on their social activeness, the attitude toward studies and the future occupation, life plans; 3) the analysis of the degree of influence on the value orientations and life plans of students of institutional factors, personal relations and contacts; 4) the comparison of the common traits of the student body with the peculiarities of its occupational detachments.

One of the most important hypotheses of the study was that the specific nature of the occupational detachments of the student body has the most significant influence of its social characteristics, being a unique "continuation" of the social-occupational differences between the corresponding detachments of the intelligentsia.

The strategic plan of the study was built on the basis of this: the young reinforcements of /specific detachments of the intelligentsia/ /in italics/, the list of which was agreed on by all the participants, were compared. The possibility of studying young people outside the higher school and the inclusion in addition to the mandatory contingents of other contingents depending on the theoretical and applied problems being solved in each of the countries were permitted.

It was also envisaged that in the sample population all the groups of specialties would be represented in proportion to their size in the general population. Serial sampling was used as the basic procedure, and groups of respondents numbering approximately 50 each were selected for each specialty. The series were made up randomly, a complete survey of the students was made within them.

The selection of empirical material was made by a questionnaire survey of students and the generalization of the data of state statistics of higher education. The structure of the questionnaires was uniform for all the contingents being surveyed, ranked scales of intensity (as a rule, with equal intervals and an equal length, most often four-point scales) were used.

The following indicators of the path in life of the respondents were used: the place of birth, the place of enrollment in the first grade of school and the place of graduation from it, the type of secondary education received (day or evening, general or specialized and so forth), the place of enrollment in a higher educational institution, the nature of labor activity before the higher educational institution (for those who had a work record)

and its duration, the degree of conformity of the labor activity to the specialty of the higher educational institution, the number of attempts to enroll in a higher educational institution, the degree of readiness for studies at a higher educational institution (self-appraisal, the average grade of the certificate and others) and, finally, the time of the making of the decision on enrolling in the higher school and on the choice of a specific specialty. The questionnaires also contained questions on the social origin of the respondents and their own social status prior to enrolling in a higher educational institution (for those who had a labor record), age, sex, marital status and the number of children.

In order to analyze the social activeness of the respondents, their membership in a youth political organization and the degree of participation in public work, cultural life and the pursuit of physical culture and sports were ascertained. The level of achievement of the students (self-appraisal and the average grade of the last examination session before the survey), its connection with participation in the scientific and social work of the chair, faculty and higher educational institution, the preferences of the graduates of a higher educational institution with respect to the place of future work, their satisfaction with the assignment and the received education were also studied.

First-year and last-year students of similar higher educational institutions for all the countries: universities (humanities and natural science faculties separately), institutes of technical, agricultural, economic, teaching and medical specialization, were the objects of the study.

In the European part of the RSFSR the following regions and VUZ centers were selected: the Northwest (Leningrad), the Volga River area (Kazan' and Astrakhan'), the Volga-Vyatka region (Gor'kiy and Saransk), the Northern Caucasus (Groznyy and Krasnodar), the Central Chernozem Zone (Voronezh), the Urals (Sverdlovsk and Nizhniy Tagil), the Center (Vladimir, Ivanovo, Orekhovo-Zuyevo).[3] In the Baltic republics practically all the VUZ cities were included in the sample: Tallin and Tartu in Estonia, Riga and Daugavpils in Latvia, Vil'nyus and Kaunas in Lithuania. In the Soviet sample, thus, three extra-large cities with a high level of concentration of scientific institutions and higher educational institutions (Leningrad, Gor'kiy, Sverdlovsk), three capitals of union republics, eight centers of oblasts and ASSR's and five other cities were represented.

The total size of the sample for all the surveyed areas was:

Bulgaria--3,735 people
Hungary--2,230 people
the GDR--2,200 people
Poland--3,021 people
USSR:
European part of RSFSR--3,971 people
Baltic republics--11,680 people
Czechoslovakia--2,276 people

Total: 29,113 people

As is evident from the national reports, for each of the countries the sample was adequately representative (in conformity with the used criterion of the choice of specialties and centers of higher educational institutions).

The study showed a high degree of the similarity of the majority of social processes which are connected with the formation of reinforcements of the socialist intelligentsia. It completely confirmed the correctness of the assessment given by L. I. Brezhnev in the Accountability Report to the 25th CPSU Congress: "Along with the flourishing of each socialist nation and the strengthening of the sovereignty of the socialist states their interrelations are becoming closer and closer, more and more elements of community in their policy, economy and social life are emerging, the gradual equalization of the levels of development is taking place. This process of the gradual convergence of the socialist countries is now being manifested quite definitely as a regularity."[4]

Owing to the rapid growth of the number and proportion of students in the population of the socialist countries the social sources of the reinforcement of the intelligentsia are steadily increasing: it is being formed from young people, who represent all classes and social groups of workers and who have constantly increasing access to a higher education. At the same time in both the USSR and the other socialist countries (of course, to a different extent, which stems from the peculiarities of the social and educational situation) the influence of the already existing social differences tells. In a recent Soviet interregional study this was established quite clearly.[5]

The Soviet portion of the international study gave on this level additional sociological information which is especially valuable as it can be compared with the data for other socialist countries. Let us recall that in 1978 the social composition of the USSR population (including nonworking members of families) was as follows: workers--61.8 percent, the kolkhoz peasantry--15.1 percent, employees and specialists--23.1 percent.[6] The study revealed a certain irregularity of the distribution of people from different classes and social groups among higher educational institutions of different specializations. Thus, in the final years of universities the people from families of the kolkhoz peasantry and workers of sovkhozes made up 3.3 percent of the respondents in the humanities faculties and 10 percent in the natural science faculties, at pedagogical institutes--18 percent, agricultural institutes--44.3 percent, medical institutes--5.5 percent.

Consequently, given a "coefficient of leaving" from families of the kolkhoz peasantry for the higher school, which is equal on the average approximately to one, this indicator fluctuates very significantly--from 0.22 in the humanities faculties of universities to 1.2 at pedagogical institutes and 2.9 at agricultural higher educational institutions. The values of this indicator for people from the families of workers are just as different (although in a somewhat different way). Thus, the students, whose fathers are workers in industry and construction, made up in the final years of economic

[illegible] educational institutions were [illegible] 20 percent of those surveyed, [illegible] higher educational institutions--18 percent, in the natural [illegible] faculties of universities--14 percent, while at medical institutes--[illegible] 3 percent. A considerable share of the students are children of workers [illegible] other industrial sectors of the national economy.

According to the data of the Czechoslovak portion of the study, in the [illegible] the people from families of workers and peasants made up 26 percent of the surveyed students of medical [illegible] specialties, 31 percent--economic specialties, 33 percent--engineering (in [illegible] building) specialties, 44 percent--teaching specialties and 45 percent--agricultural specialties. Thus, although the range here is relatively small, the primary attraction of the children of workers and peasants to higher educational institutions of agricultural and teaching specializations is obvious. The analogous data of the Polish portion of the study are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Social Origin of Students in Poland (by Specialties), Percent

From what social groups the respondents come	Specialties						
	engineering	agriculture and forestry	university	medical	economic	legal	other humanities
Workers	24.1	23.1	27.6	26.5	29.1	21.6	23.6
Peasants	9.4	25.2	10.7	6.9	9.6	11.1	11.0
Socialist employees	14.5	12.4	15.5	20.3	19.9	20.4	15.3
Specialists	40.9	30.4	33.4	38.2	30.5	32.9	38.1
Self-employed workers outside agriculture	3.1	3.1	4.1	2.8	3.3	4.9	3.5
Others (including those who did not respond)	7.8	5.8	8.7	5.3	7.4	9.9	9.5

It can be said that certain discrepancies in the degree of "representation" of people who come from different social groups in the higher school are [illegible] in both countries. Of course, these discrepancies do not remain invariable, which is attested, in particular, by the dynamics of the social shifts.

The analysis of the social origin of students made it possible to reveal some trends of the intergenerational social mobility of their parents (in the questionnaire there was the question: "What were your parents at the beginning of their labor activity and at the moment of your enrollment in a higher educational institution?"). These trends reflect to a certain

extent the changes established by statistics in the social structure of socialist society over the past two decades. New sociological information, which is especially interesting in the sectorial (according to the specialization of the training of students) and the regional (for the USSR) aspects, was also obtained.[8]

The Soviet portion of the study revealed a trend common to all the regions: a decrease of the percentage of worker-parents during the time from the start of their labor activity to the enrollment of their children in the higher school. And whereas in the Center of the European part of the RSFSR this decrease was 4 points, in Leningrad it was 7 points and in Voronezh--9 points, while in Estonia it was only 2 points. It is possible to assume that there is a very close connection between the intensity of social mobility and the regional peculiarities of the development of the social structure.

It is interesting that the percentage of the production and technical intelligentsia among the parents of the respondents also decreased (for the European part of the RSFSR on the average by 7 points, in Estonia by 5 points). At the same time in the RSFSR the percentage of physician-parents and other certified medical workers, teachers and several other groups of specialists increased sharply (three- to fourfold). However, in Estonia this indicator even declined somewhat, while in Latvia and Lithuania it remained unchanged. For all the regions the percentage of employees among the parents of the respondents decreased.

Many respondents at the time of enrollment in the higher school had a social status independent and autonomous from their parents (that is, they worked as workers, kolkhoz farmers, employees), although the majority of students, as before, are graduates of secondary schools, who do not have a labor record.

Thus, 85 percent of the graduating students and 88 percent of the first-year students enrolled in the higher educational institutions of the European part of the RSFSR immediately after graduating from secondary school. In the Baltic republics the proportion of "school pupils" is considerably less: in Estonia--respectively 62 and 54 percent, in Latvia--77 and 76 percent; in Lithuania it is the same as in the RSFSR--in both cases 88 percent (let us note for comparison that in Czechoslovakia this indicator is equal to 49 percent, while in Poland--73 percent). At higher educational institutions of different specializations the picture is as follows (Table 2).

Thus, whereas pedagogical higher educational institutions are being reinforced mainly by graduates of day schools, at the universities (humanities faculties) close to them in specialization the situation is different: due to the greater intensity of the competitions and the additional benefits granted to school leavers with a work record, the percentage of "school pupils" not only is much less, but is also tending to decrease somewhat. It

turns out that the differences between the "detachments" of students to a certain extent are "laid" back in the approaches to the higher educational institution.

Table 2

Proportion of Enrollees in First Years of Higher Educational Institutions From Day Secondary Schools, Percent

Specialization of higher educational institution (faculty)	Proportion of enrollees from day secondary school			
	European part of RSFSR		Estonian SSR	
	Years			
	first	final	first	final
Technical	85.5	80.8	68.5	72.0
Economic	75.6	81.3	56.7	70.5
University (humanities faculties)	75.0	83.6	55.5	59.0
Agricultural	83.8	89.7	63.6	70.4
Pedagogical	89.5	92.4	70.7	64.4
Medical	85.5	80.8	68.5	72.0

The simultaneous survey of first-year and final-year students made it possible, as is evident from Table 2, to trace the change in the situation over five (at medical higher educational institutions, over six) years, since the data on the graduates pertains to the moment of their enrollment in the higher educational institution. On the whole the percentage of "school pupils" among the students of both the first and final years increased: the study of 1973-1974 established in Moscow 43 percent of the fifth-year students and 48.5 percent of the first-year students without a labor record, while in Estonia it was correspondingly 47.4 and 41.7 percent.[9]

Among the students, who prior to enrolling in a higher educational institution had a labor record, those who had the social status of workers or employees predominate (Table 3), and the differences between republics are quite great.

Table 3

Students' Own Social Status Before Enrolling in a Higher Educational Institution, Percent

Region	Worked before enrolling in higher school as					
	workers		kolkhoz farmers		employees	
	Years					
	first	final	first	final	first	final
European part of RSFSR	12.8	11.9	2.1	2.2	22.2	22.7
Estonian SSR	10.2	11.9	2.1	2.2	18.1	20.2
Latvian SSR	5.6	4.6	0.4	0.5	19.7	15.8
Lithuanian SSR	4.4	3.6	0.1	0.1	12.1	10.3

Workers made up the greatest proportion of respondents in the industrial regions of the RSFSR (the Center, the Urals), while kolkhoz farmers made up the greatest proportion in the Central Chernozem and Volga River regions. This is explained both by the peculiarities of the composition of the population and by the long-range orientations of the young people enrolling in the higher school.

People from the city and the countryside are distributed unevenly among higher educational institutions not only of different regions, but also of different specialization: the highest percentage of rural residents is at agricultural (57 percent in the first year and 55 percent in the last year) and pedagogical institutes, the smallest--at medical institutes.

Whereas at higher educational institutions of technical and, in part, economic specialization the existence of independent work experience before enrolling in the institutes to some extent offsets the gaps in knowledge and the interruption in education, at universities, as the analysis of the data on the achievement of students (in comparison with the average grade of their school certificate and the results of the entrance examinations) shows, these shortcomings of the training before enrolling in the higher educational institution have an effect up to the last year, although with time they gradually diminish. Apparently, it is necessary to ponder over a more differentiated approach to making up student bodies and to take into account the peculiarities of the training of various groups of specialists.

Let us cite just one example. At pedagogical institutes only 0.5 percent of the surveyed students of the final year had an average grade of the school certificate of less than 3.5, while 14.4 percent had an average grade of "5"; on the entrance examinations the percentage of respondents, who had an average grade of up to 3.5, increased to 7 percent and only by the final year (the last session prior to the survey) did it decrease to 5.7 percent, which exceeds by more than 10-fold the corresponding indicator of the school certificate; the proportion of those, who have in the final year an average grade of "5," was 11.4 percent. A similar situation is observed at universities (although there it is less sharply pronounced in connection with the great entrance competition) and at medical institutes, where the competition is even greater.[10] This confirms the correctness of the conclusion about the need for the utmost improvement of the competitive selection of young people for higher educational institutions and about the regulation of the social composition of the students primarily by pedagogical measures (mainly by giving assistance to poorly prepared people from rural areas and to some other categories of young people in filling the gaps in knowledge).

The problem of forming the contingent of the preparatory departments, which have been in operation at the majority of higher educational institutions for more than 10 years, should also be examined, in our opinion, on this level. The selection of the students of these departments directly at the enterprises is faced with the obvious nonconformity of the interests of the enterprises, which are striving to attach to themselves the most capable young workers for the purposes of increasing production efficiency and work

quality, and the interests of higher educational institutions. It must also be taken into account that it is not easy for a skilled worker to leave his labor collective, to give up a comparatively high wage, the prospect of advancement and so on and to change over for five to six years to the status of a student. Therefore the selection and the sending of workers to study are often carried out formally at enterprises.

A number of additional measures on the improvement of the making up of student bodies are envisaged by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Further Development of the Higher School and the Increase of the Quality of Training of Specialists."[11] The implementation of this decree requires the thorough and comprehensive study not only of students, but also of the reserves for reinforcing them (and thereby for reinforcing the intelligentsia), which are available in the labor collectives, those forms of the selection of the best workers for the higher school, which, without being detrimental to production, would contribute to the solution of the national problem of increasing the quality of training of highly skilled specialists.

The study of the value orientations and life plans of future specialists held a significant place in the study. Two groups of data: on the structure and dynamics of the value orientations of students[12] and on the correlating of their immediate and long-range plans of "the organization of life," in our opinion, are of the greatest interest.

On the whole the structure of the value orientations of Soviet students, as in previous studies,[13] completely reflects the socialist type of their social existence: they are orientations, as a rule, toward socially useful labor, the utmost revelation and realization of the creative potentials of the individual, personal (including family) well-being, which is achieved as a result of honest and conscientious labor. It is safe to speak about the complete predominance in the consciousness of Soviet students of healthy, truly socialist moral guidelines. As in previous Soviet studies, the "priority" of the social orientation with respect to the vocational orientation was established: the decision to acquire a higher education and thereby to achieve the social status of a specialist-intellectual in time most often precedes for the majority of respondents (in all the countries where the survey was conducted) the choice of a specific profession and accordingly the higher educational institution and faculty. The earliest choice of the future social "position" is typical of students of universities and medical higher educational institutions, that is, precisely those where the competition is the greatest, while the latest choice (approximately a year before actual enrollment) is typical of future economists, teachers and engineers. Apparently, the intensification of the work on the vocational guidance of young people is becoming an especially urgent problem precisely for the higher educational institutions of these three specializations. Among girls the orientation toward a higher education forms, as a rule, earlier than among boys, and significant differences between regions with respect to this indicator were not found.

The shifts in the value orientations of graduates as compared with first-year students are very negligible: the average rank coefficients of the most important values of the future job for both virtually do not differ. In what concerns positive values, such stability is quite natural and justified. In what pertains to negative elements, the stability of the orientations of a part of the students attests to the inadequate utilization of the educational potentials of the higher school. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," the task is set "to strive for the fundamental unity of the training and educational processes, the formation among pupils and students of a scientific world outlook, lofty moral and political attributes, diligence. To inculcate in young students an interest in political knowledge, to develop their social activeness in every possible way."[14] The data of the study attest to the urgency of these demands.

The deficiencies in the labor education and vocational guidance of students are manifested, in particular, in the fact that occupational activity is rated as the most important of the opportunities afforded by a higher education by a comparatively small number of respondents, and in the final year, as a rule, by fewer than in the first year. Thus, at the higher educational institutions of the European part of the RSFSR 49 percent of the first-year students and 43.4 percent of the final-year students gave this rating, in Lithuania--respectively 66.7 and 62 percent, in Latvia--72.5 and 63.7 percent, in Estonia--80.2 and 70 percent.

The comparison of the value orientations of students of the first and final years attests to the same thing: the importance of occupational activity as the most important value was lower among graduates than among first-year students.

The fact that far from all graduating students are oriented toward occupational activity directly in production as rank and file specialists after graduating from the higher educational institution, while in their long-range life plans such activity holds an even less important place, also cannot but cause alarm (Table 4).

As is evident from Table 4, the life plans among students of higher educational institutions of different specializations differ considerably. The great "differences" between the immediate and distant prospects attract attention. A clear "bias" of the life plans of students in the direction of scientific research work is also observed. To a certain extent this, perhaps, is explained by the fact that in recent years the departments have been involving them extensively in their research, striving to develop the creative thinking of young people as much as possible and to raise their intellectual potential. But here among a considerable number of students the orientation toward scientific activity is "superseding" the orientation toward the direct labor of an engineer, physician and so forth. This finding, of course, should not be taken as an appeal to limit the participation of students in the research work of departments. It is a matter of its reasonable measure and, what is the main thing, its integral combination

with the vocational training of the future specialists, their ideological, labor and moral education. The orientation of students toward organizing, managerial activity and the appropriate training for it should also be stepped up.

Table 4

Life Plans of Final-Year Students of Higher Educational Institutions of the European Part of the RSFSR for the Immediate* and Distant** Future***

Would like to work	Specialization of higher educational institution (faculty)						
	university						
	humanities	natural science	technical	agricultural	economic	pedagogical	medical
As a rank and file specialist at an enterprise, institution	65.0 20.8	33.3 5.6	60.9 6.5	86.3 20.2	45.3 9.4	88.3 29.0	84.0 30.1
As a manager or specialist on the administrative staff of an enterprise, institution	3.3 20.2	5.6 13.4	12.5 30.2	1.9 32.8	21.6 30.2	1.1 21.4	3.7 16.0
In a ministry, main administration	2.7 7.7	0.4 4.3	1.2 13.7	0.8 9.9	5.0 15.8	0.5 1.1	0 2.7
In a planning and design organization	0 0.5	1.7 2.2	8.9 10.5	0.8 2.3	1.4 0	0.8 1.4	0.5 0.5
At a scientific institution	7.6 3.3	36.8 16.9	10.1 14.1	5.7 6.1	10.8 9.4	3.0 8.4	3.2 8.2
At a higher educational institution	9.3 10.9	9.5 11.3	0.4 6.5	0.8 2.7	0.7 5.0	1.1 8.4	0.5 6.8
Study in post-graduate course	7.7 10.9	8.2 16.0	2.8 6.0	1.9 6.9	2.9 4.3	2.2 6.0	4.6 12.3

* Numerator. ** Denominator. *** In percent; nonrespondents not shown.

In our opinion, careful consideration of the peculiarities of higher educational institutions of one specialization or another not only in the work on the vocational guidance of students, but also when planning the need for staffs of specialists, as well as when forecasting the structure of the intelligentsia for the distant future, is needed. The causes of such a sharp decline in the orientation toward a professional job as a rank and file engineer in the long-range plans of the graduates of technical higher educational institutions as compared with their immediate plans, in which the

orientation toward this basic type of activity is also not especially strongly pronounced, requires a careful and thorough study. This pertains to future agricultural specialists and economists. Apparently, we are faced here with those subjective prerequisites of the subsequently occupational mobility of young specialists, which differ from the needs of the national economy. The study of N. A. Aitov and R. T. Nasibullin, which was conducted in the Bashkirskaya ASSR, for example, attests that these fears are not groundless: the indicators of the occupational mobility of specialists frequently greatly exceed the optimum limits, which involves the inefficient "waste" of education, enormous additional expenditures on their retraining and other losses, which are connected with the inadequate competence of personnel who do not have the appropriate vocational education and who use the acquired knowledge for the wrong purpose. The survey, which Ye. A. Suslova conducted in 1979 among the engineering and technical personnel of the system of the Main Administration for Petroleum and Gas for the Tyumen' Region, showed that about a third of the respondents would prefer to work on the staff of the administration of an enterprise, while 12 percent would prefer to transfer for the sphere of science.

Of course, all this cannot be attributed only to some oversights or others of the training of young people at higher educational institutions, but numerous cases of this type require a thorough study.

It is also impossible not to take into account the influence on the life plans of graduates of higher educational institutions of the differences in the level of wages of different categories of specialists, the opportunities for occupational growth and social advancement. Workers of science and management personnel have adequately clear, multistage prospects of growth: for some there are academic degrees and titles, scientific posts, for others there is a transfer to a more responsible job or a job of broader scope. The graduate of a technical or pedagogical higher educational institution does not have such clarity. The system of periodic certification of engineers, teachers and several other categories of specialists is not always effective enough.

It seems that the ordering and some regulation of the prospects of the advancement of the young specialist, of the increase of his skills, the complication of labor and the increase of wages would also have a positive influence on the formation of the life plans of graduates of the higher school and would orient them to a greater extent than now toward direct production activity in the chosen specialty.

The problems, which graduates of higher educational institutions face at the beginning of their labor path, can and should be foreseen in advance and the necessary steps should be taken to resolve them. Meanwhile, this is occurring far from everywhere and far from always. Tallin engineer M. Kazakov correctly wrote: "Young specialists have difficulty settling down in the collectives to which they have been sent on assignment.... The old personnel have a quite vague idea of the problems of the new personnel.... We are missing the moment when the orientation of the individual takes

[illegible] An editorial in the planet, in the study must be undertaken not in words, but under real production conditions."[1]

[illegible], the need has arisen to approach the determination of the need of an enterprise and a sector for specialists from a broader standpoint.

The calculation of this need (in those instances when it is made) is evaluated only on a "technological" basis, on the basis of the specific nature of the production process or another, or on the basis of a state standard (for example, the number of students per teacher or the number of inhabitants served by a divisional physician and so forth). Social features as such are virtually disregarded here. Meanwhile, so that this calculation would be adequately realistic, it is necessary to coordinate it with the peculiarities of the orientations, which are characteristic of the given detachment of specialists and of its young reinforcement. The marital status of young specialists should also be taken into account: approximately a third of the students at the time of graduation are married, many have children, and this means that, when assigning the graduate of a higher educational institution to a place of work, provision must be made for the possibility of finding the other spouse a job, of placing the children in preschool institutions, of providing housing to the family of the specialist and so on. Of course, such opportunities are not always available everywhere, but in social planning it is necessary (both on the level of labor collectives and on the scale of the sectors of the national economy) to direct attention to the most effective use of the young reinforcement of the intelligentsia with allowance made for the mentioned factors.

The current and long-term need for specialists can, in our opinion, be estimated reliably enough with the assistance of the sociological service of the enterprise and the sector, as well as the sociological subdivisions of the higher school.

Of substantial importance for the efficient use of specialists with a higher education is their orientation toward work in cities (including large cities) or in rural areas. In the European part of the RSFSR 69.4 percent of the surveyed graduating students of pedagogical higher educational institutions expressed a willingness to work in raion centers or in rural areas, at medical institutes 59.6 percent of the respondents and at agricultural institutes 69.3 percent of the respondents expressed such a desire. In all three instances these indicators are lower than the objective level of the need of the countryside for specialists (let us note that the primarily "urban" orientation of the graduates of higher educational institutions in some other socialist countries, Hungary for instance, is even greater). It is typical that the lowest percentage of those oriented toward work in rural areas is found among those who come from the families of the production and technical intelligentsia, scientific and creative workers, the highest is found among the children of kolkhoz farmers and the workers of sovkhozes. This once again attests to the need for extensive assistance to the rural young people enrolling in the higher school in increasing the quality of general educational training. If we compare the

obtained data with several past studies, it can be said that the "rural" orientation of students in recent years has increased slightly. This is the direct result of the educational work of the higher school, the attraction to the ranks of students of a larger number of graduates of rural schools, the active work of Komsomol organizations on giving assistance to the countryside and implementing the program outlined by the party on the transformation of agriculture, including the comprehensive program of the economic and social development of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR. But much still has to be done in order to bring the life plans of the graduates of higher educational institutions, especially those studying the specialties which are most needed by the countryside, in line with the real needs of our society.

The establishment of the intersectorial and interregional differences in the sphere of higher education and the analysis of the orientations and life plans of the graduates of the higher school, the directions and trends of social mobility within and between generations, which were possible as a result of the international comparative study, are not only of applied importance, but also of a certain theoretical importance. The data of the study make it possible to see some specific traits of the movement of Soviet society toward complete social homogeneity--the interaction of the processes of the obliteration of social differences and their relative reproduction, which is manifested, in particular, in the internal differentiation of the intelligentsia and its young reinforcement.

In bourgeois sociological literature, on the basis of the data on the social composition of the students of higher educational institutions of different specialization attempts are made at times to interpret such facts as "the persistent social inequality" in Soviet society, which is manifested, for example, in the different "prestigeousness" of higher educational institutions and so forth.[16] Indeed, the prestige and appeal of higher educational institutions of different specialization, as is evident from the above-cited data, are not identical for different groups of young people. There are also certain objective differences, which depend on the peculiarities of the specific types of labor, for which higher educational institutions of different specialization train young people. Even K. Marx foresaw the inevitability under socialism of "unequal labor."[17] But the crux of the matter is that this is inequality of the socialist type, in which there is no and can be no oppression, repression and exploitation of the workers. It would be incorrect, in our opinion, not to note a certain social nuance of these differences and to reduce them exclusively to occupational differences. The increase of social homogeneity involves not only the overcoming of differences between classes and social groups, but also a qualitative change in their occupational structure and the formation of a new "set" of occupations, the differences between which would lack any social content whatsoever. In this connection the social traits of the differences between the different types of vocational educational institutions, including higher educational institutions, and their students would also become a thing of the past. At the same time it is necessary to categorically reject

the attempts to identify them with the antagonistic class inequality in capitalist society, which are being undertaken by bourgeois "Sovietology."

Such are some of the conclusions which stem, it seems to us, from the international comparative study and its Soviet part. A complete analysis of its results will be given in a collective international monograph, the work on which has begun.

FOOTNOTES

1. A coordinating council chaired by Bulgarian scholar P. Mitev headed the study. The Soviet part of the study was conducted in the European part of the RSFSR by the Sector of Sociological Problems of Young People and Education of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences with the participation of the scientific subdivisions of a number of higher educational institutions, as well as in the Soviet Baltic republics by scientific collectives of these republics. In Bulgaria the study was carried out by the Center (now Institute) of Scientific Research of Young People attached to the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, in Hungary by the scientific center of the Higher School attached to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Young Communist League, in the GDR by the Central Institute of Studies of Young People (Leipzig), in Poland and the CSSR by the institutes of philosophy and sociology of the academies of sciences of these countries. The scientific directors of the study were: in Bulgaria--P. Mitev, in Hungary--P. (Shiffer), in the GDR--K. Starke, in Poland--W. Adamski and K. Zagorski, in the USSR--F. P. Filippov and M. Kh. Titma, in the CSSR--F. Charvat and A. Matejovsky.

2. The theoretical part of the program of the study was published in the "Information Bulletin" (1978) of the 16th Problem Commission of Multilateral Cooperation of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries. The authors are: M. Kh. Titma, F. P. Filippov, N. M. Blinov, Z. T. Golenkova, D. I. Zyuzin and L. Ya. Rubina.

3. The field research was directed by: in Leningrad--V. T. Lisovskiy, in Kazan'--Ya. Z. Garipov, in Gor'kiy--S. S. Balabanov, in Saransk--A. I. Sukharev, in Voronezh--V. A. Kutsenko and A. A. Utukov, in the Urals--L. Ya. Rubina and Yu. P. Petrov, in the Northern Caucasus--L. P. Verevkin, in the Center--D. I. Zyuzin.

4. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" /By the Leninist Course/, Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 453.

5. See "Vysshaya shkola kak faktor izmeneniya sotsial'noy struktury razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" /The Higher School as a Factor of Change in the Social Structure of the Mature Socialist Society/, Moscow, 1978.

6. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1978/, Moscow, 1979, p 9.

7. See K. Zagorski, "Rozwoj, struktura i ruchliwosc spoleczna," Warsaw, 1978, Chapter IX; F. Charvat et al., "Socialne tridni struktura Ceskoslovenska," Prague, 1978, Chapter 2.

8. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ye. D. Igitkhanyan and Candidate of Historical Sciences L. G. Gaft made the analysis of these data.

9. See "Vysshaya shkola kak faktor izmeneniya sotsial'noy struktury razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva," p 150.

10. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ye. D. Igitkhanyan made the analysis of these data.

11. See PRAVDA, 12 July 1979.

12. Candidate of Philosophical Science S. N. Bykova and junior research associate T. S. Baranova analyzed these data.

13. See "Molodezh', yeye interesy, stremleniya, idealy" /Young People, Their Interests, Aspirations, Ideals/, Moscow, 1969; M. Kh. Titma, "Vybor professii kak sotsial'naya problema" /The Choice of an Occupation as a Social Problem/, Moscow, 1975; "Sotsial'naya i professional'naya oriyentatsiya molodezhi v usloviyakh razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva v SSSR" /The Social and Occupational Orientation of Young People Under the Conditions of the Mature Socialist Society in the USSR/, Moscow, 1978; D. I. Zyuzin, "Kachestvo podgotovki spetsialistov kak sotsial'naya problema" /The Quality of Training of Specialists as a Social Problem/, Moscow, 1978, and others.

14. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty" /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work/, Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979, Moscow, 1979, p 14.

15. M. Kazakov, "Let Us Meet at the House of Engineers," PRAVDA, 30 September 1979.

16. See, for example, R. B. Dobson, "Social Status and Inequality of Access to Higher Education in the USSR," "Power and Ideology in Education," edited by J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey, New York, 1977, p 265.

17. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 19, p 19.

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THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST CULTURE

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/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Lev Naumovich Kogan, head of the Chair of Scientific Communism of Ural State University imeni A. M. Gor'kiy; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics/

/Text/ The definition of the intelligentsia as the group of people, who are engaged /professionally/ in mental labor, can be considered generally acknowledged. The emphasis on the word "professionally" is not be chance, for, as is known, many people of physical labor, workers and kolkhoz farmers participate in mental activity both during working time and during free time. Such an interpretation stems, in our opinion, from Lenin's understanding of the place and role of the intelligentsia in the life of society.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly noted that its main function consists in the fact that intellectuals "...promoted culture, this was their profession."[1] Indeed, the development of culture was the main professional function of the intelligentsia. The professional function, because the intelligentsia never was and could not be the sole motive force of culture. The /people/ always played a decisive role in its progress. But in society there was no other social group, for which the development of culture was a profession.

Of course, this function was not and is not now the only one of the intelligentsia. The analysis of Lenin's theses gives grounds for distinguishing at least three more functions, which are closely connected with the indicated function:

the elaboration of the /ideology/ of that class which uses the knowledge and experience of the intelligentsia in its own interests;[2]

the organization of /management/ in the interests of one class or another. Thus, V. I. Lenin indicated the need to recruit during the building of socialism the old personnel of the intelligentsia, who were well acquainted "with the skills of management on an extensive state scale";[3]

the /transmission of knowledge/, the training of educated and skilled personnel.

On the one hand, these functions are a detailed elaboration of the main function--the development of culture. Thus, the ideological function in essence is a part of this main function, for the founders of scientific communism singled it out specially, taking into account the role of ideology in the struggle of classes. In the work "The Class Struggle in France" K. Marx speaks about the active part which "the /ideological/ representatives and defenders... of the classes, their scholars, lawyers, physicians and so on, in short, their so-called 'talents'"[4] took in it. V. V. Vorovskiy in the well-known article "Is the Intelligentsia a Social Class?" calls its labor "...mental and /ideological/ (the italics are mine--L. K.) labor."[5]

On the other hand, the activity on the performance of these functions also embraces several other areas of social life, and not just the sphere of culture. For example, the function of management and service coincides only in part with the activity on the development of culture, but intersects with it and supplements it. It characterizes the labor of the workers of mental labor, who are employed in the army and the navy, in the sphere of management, trade and personal service. We are not speaking here about the stratum of employees, who are the intelligentsia of the lowest skill and are not grouped with specialists.

However, all these functions are subordinated in the end, to the function of the development of culture, if it is taken completely and is understood as material, political and spiritual culture.

In class antagonistic formations the decisive role of the popular masses in the development of culture was manifested indirectly, the importance of the intelligentsia for the development of science, technology and art was obvious to all.

Under socialism the situation changed radically. The revolution roused the broad popular masses to conscious historical creative activity, including in the sphere of culture. The previously latent role of the workers in the development of culture became clear and obvious. "Socialism developed among the Soviet people the feeling of being the true master of the country, cultivated in them the aspiration to master the Leninist science and art of managing all social life on a socialist basis," L. I. Brezhnev wrote.[6]

Today we have every reason to say that socialist culture is developing both owing to the professional labor of the intelligentsia and owing to the /nonprofessional cultural activity/ of millions of workers. It is a matter not only of amateur art activity, which has become most widespread in the country, but of the millions of rationalizers and inventors from among the workers and peasants, of an entire army of people, who combine their main job with the development and promotion of /political/ culture (the members of party, trade union, and Komsomol committees, people's deputies, propagandists, political information officers, lecturers, worker correspondents and so on), the dissemination of /legal/ culture (members of the Comrade

creative groups of the People's Control, members of the voluntary people's patrol and others), /physical/ culture (publicly active coaches, referees, organizers of sports work and so on). In recent times thousands of people have been recruited to engage in nonprofessional /pedagogical/ activity on the education of the young generation (patrons, tutors, Young Pioneer leaders and so on). It is also possible to single out as a noteworthy event the contribution of nonprofessional researchers to the development of /science/. In short, the number of people in our country, who are engaged in one way or another in the development of culture, is steadily increasing. Accordingly, the contribution, which they are making to the wealth of the united multinational socialist culture, is increasing quantitatively and qualitatively. In the future, obviously, every member of society will begin to a certain extent to participate in the increase of cultural values and can rightfully be called the subject, the creator of culture.

However, does this rapid increase of the scope of nonprofessional activity in the sphere of culture give adequate grounds to revise the functions of the intelligentsia? Can we link its "withering away" (as a special social group) at the highest phase of communism only with the increase of the number of people who engage in nonprofessional cultural activity, with the involvement of all workers in the matter of managing society, as well as with the increase of the number of nonprofessional educators?

It seems that the answers to these questions should be no.

The point is that such a pursuit of cultural activity, education, management, theological and pedagogical work is carried out, as a rule, during the hours away from the main job. Participation in it still does not change the nature of professional labor. The worker and the peasant, while taking part in diverse cultural creative activity and being the subject of the development of culture, during working time engage in primarily /physical/ labor. Consequently, under present conditions substantial differences still exist between their activity and the labor of the intelligentsia. In this connection V. I. Lenin noted that the intelligentsia "...will remain a special stratum until the achievement of the highest level of development of the communist society,"[7] that level at which professional labor in any sphere of the national economy will become in its nature truly creative labor, which harmoniously combines physical and mental activity.

Of course, any socially useful activity under socialism has a cultural value. But it is the combination in every profession and specialty of mental and physical labor which will make it possible to regard such labor as a direct type of cultural activity, as labor which is directly (and not indirectly) connected with the development of culture. In this sense we have the right to regard any professional activity at the highest phase of communism as specifically cultural activity, as the thorough revelation of "essential forces"--the aptitude, talents and creative potentials of a person. We presume that the well-known idea of V. I. Lenin: "proletarian culture = communism"[8] should be understood in precisely this way. Of

course, under these conditions the concept "culture" will not be a synonym of the concept "activity." Culture was, is and will remain an /essential characteristic/ of human activity, an indicator of the degree of manifestation of the aptitude and inherent qualities of people in all types of activity, which is aimed at the transformation of nature, society and man himself.

Hence it is clear that without consideration of the nature of the professional labor of the intelligentsia it is impossible to understand its role in social development, including the building of communism. The scholars, who deny the role of this labor as the basis in the determination of the essence of the intelligentsia and the identification of its functions, are undoubtedly narrowing the methodological base of research.

Under present conditions the activity in the area of culture is still not being distinguished as a special sphere, and its professional performance is linked primarily with the labor of the intelligentsia. The movement of society toward complete social homogeneity presumes such a change in the nature of the labor of all citizens that no types of it would remain, except for creative activity, which makes a direct contribution to the material, political or spiritual culture of society. The latter will also mean the withering away of the main function of the intelligentsia, for no special professional cultural activity will remain at all.

In this connection it is necessary to emphasize that the transformation of labor into a cultural activity involves not only a change in equipment, technology and working conditions, but to no less extent the emergence of /a worker of a new type/, a cultured, highly educated and socially active worker. Nonprofessional creative activity in the sphere of culture already today is promoting to a considerable extent the formation of such a worker. The role of this type of activity in the convergence of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia consists first of all in this. During the period of mature socialism certain groups of workers of the new type, whose labor integrally combines its physical and mental aspects, are already directly engaged in cultural activity. The term "worker-intellectuals," over which such arguments are occurring, reflects exactly the fact that the workers, who make up this stratum, in the social functions performed by them are close to the intelligentsia.

On the basis of their analysis it is possible to make more precise the essence of the concept "worker (kolkhoz farmer)-intellectual." It is impossible to distinguish the people belonging to these groups by just one attribute, be it the nature of labor or great social activeness and so on. In our opinion, such traits as the more fundamental combination in professional labor of the mental and physical aspects than among workers or kolkhoz farmers, the creative nature of labor, a high level of education, consciousness and social activeness, active participation in the manage of social affairs should be characteristic of them. Consequently, the workers making up this stratum are called upon to perform functions which are close to the professional functions of the intelligentsia. This also entailed

the need for sociological researchers to place them in special groups, the specific nature of which is best reflected by the terms "worker-intellectual" and "kolkhoz farmer-intellectual."

Does this mean that the existence of such strata makes unnecessary the existence under present conditions of the intelligentsia as a special social group? Of course not, but their convergence with the workers of mental labor according to the main, primary attribute--the nature of labor--shows how relative the boundaries between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia are now, and convincingly attests to the successful advance of Soviet society along the path of overcoming social and cultural differences.

As was already noted, only at the highest phase of communism will the intelligentsia "wither away" as a special social group. Will the functions performed by it be transformed into the nonprofessional activity of all members of society? August Bebel imagined the solution of this problem in precisely this way: "There will be no musicians, actors, artists and scholars /by profession/, but only /by inspiration, by talent and genius/."[9]

A. Bebel identifies here the problem of the nature of labor and its professional division; such an approach is also characteristic of some Soviet scholars. Of course, the social and professional division of labor are inseparably connected, since the existence of professions of primarily mental and primarily physical labor is an objective demand of the socio-economic development of society today. It is maintained up to the highest phase of communism, to the formation of a socially homogeneous society. Here the need for the intelligentsia as a special social group is not connected only with the existence of so-called intellectual professions. Apparently, they (or at least many of them) will also remain at the highest phase of communism if only because the mastery of the heights of skill in each of these professions takes up a considerable portion of the life of a person. At the same time the flourishing of folk art in all spheres of culture not only does not lead to a decrease of the number of professional workers in these spheres--scholars, engineers, actors, writers, teachers, physicians and so on, but requires the steady increase of their number. But the indicated functions will no longer hold a special place in the development of culture.

With a change in the nature of labor the latter will be transformed into /cultural creativity/ in any profession. "Culture," Academician P. N. Fedoseyev writes, "is a developing set of the material and spiritual achievements of mankind, within which a certain mode of the social and practical activity of man is realized in every age."[10] At present not all professions yet afford equal opportunities for such realization. Therefore now, as well as in the immediate future professions of the most creative mental labor are the professions of a special social group of people, the intelligentsia. When /all/ occupations give people full scope for the realization of their creative capabilities, their "essential forces," /each/ specialty

will in fact become intellectual. The fundamental difference in this respect between the profession of a writer, a teacher and a worker of industry, agriculture, municipal services and so on will not remain (although certain differences between them, of course, will be preserved). This will also mean the elimination of the /social/ differences in the nature of labor, which, however, does not presume the disappearance of professional occupations in pedagogical, scientific, artistic activity and so on.

The analysis of this question would be incomplete without consideration of the changes in the content of the very concept "culture." In Soviet literature it has been repeatedly noted that its traditional limitation only to spiritual activity, spiritual culture is connected with the distorted notion of the ruling exploiting class about physical labor in physical production. This, of course, is a significant, but not the only cause of such a one-sided approach. The point is that the very content of the concept "culture" naturally increased with the development of the productive forces of society. Science was recognized as an integral part of culture, as is known, only in the 18th and early 19th centuries. As to engineering activity, it began to be distinguished (and then by far from everyone) as a part of culture only in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The increase of the scope of the concept of culture is also continuing today.

The practical management of the nonprofessional creative activity of the masses in all spheres of culture--material, political and spiritual--is an important task of the intelligentsia at the present stage. The number of scholars, engineers and technicians, who are giving effective assistance to worker-inventors and worker-rationalizers, is now increasing. Scholars and instructors in the sphere of the social sciences are holding seminars of propagandists, political information officers, lecturers and so on. A considerable group of the artistic intelligentsia is taking part in the management of popular amateur artistic activity and so on. All this attests that the increase of the artistic activeness of the masses by no means belittles the importance of the intelligentsia in the building of culture, but, on the contrary, is leading to a broadening of the sphere of the manifestation of its main function. The nonprofessional cultural activity of the masses itself could not be developed successfully without leadership on the part of professional workers of mental labor.

The least skilled portion of the intelligentsia (so-called employees) at the same time are being attracted more and more to creative work. A considerable portion of them now have a complete secondary education. In the process of the gradual mechanization of the main process of auxiliary mental labor the activity of this group to a greater and greater extent is acquiring a creative nature and is being included in direct cultural activity. The latter is also an important factor of the increase of the role of the intelligentsia in the development of culture.

The participation of the intelligentsia in ideological work is also being stepped up. Owing to the daily, persistent work of the party in recent years the majority of economic managers, engineers and technicians have

been involved in it. Here it is important to note that it is not a matter of public work during free time, but precisely of the mandatory inclusion of ideological educational work in labor collectives in their official functions. In other words, to a certain extent the engineer and the technician are now becoming ideologists with respect to their professional functions.

Finally, the intelligentsia in our society for its most part takes a direct part in pedagogical and educational work. The foreman in the shop is the educator of the production collective which he manages. This is one of the main professional demands on the foreman, one of the most important criteria of his work. The latter also pertains to many other detachments of the intelligentsia (for example, the military, artistic intelligentsia and so on).

Thus, in the professional work of a larger and larger number of the Soviet intelligentsia /all/ of its above-examined main functions are integrally combined. This is creating new, previously unheard of opportunities for the increase of the overall contribution of the intelligentsia to the development of socialist culture. At the same time the increase of the functions of the intelligentsia in professional labor is having a beneficial influence on its spiritual character and cultural level and is leading to the overcoming of the gap between theory and practice in its activity. This, in particular, is being promoted in many ways by the tendency for the greater and greater fundamental combination of mental and physical labor among many professional groups of the intelligentsia. Instruments, mechanical devices and computers have become firmly established in the labor of specialists. This governs the convergence, on the one hand, of the production and nonproduction intelligentsia and, on the other, the professional labor of the intelligentsia with the labor of the worker.

In this connection it is necessary to emphasize that the misgivings of a number of scholars, that the distinction of a stratum of "worker-intellectuals" means some "pulling" of workers up to the intelligentsia, are absolutely unfounded. Both social groups--the workers and intellectuals--are as if meeting each other half way. There is not doubt that this phenomenon is the most important factor of the transformation of labor into a type of cultural activity.

The convergence in its nature of the labor of many detachments of the intelligentsia with /scientific labor/ functions as one of the basic conditions of the increase of the role of the intelligentsia in the development of culture. In Soviet literature much has been written about the change during the age of the scientific and technical revolution in the labor of the worker and the kolkhoz farmer. As to the production intelligentsia, the changes occurring in its activity are being inadequately studies. Meanwhile it is hardly worth trying to prove that the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on the nature of the labor of the engineer, technician and agronomist is not less than its influence on the nature of the labor of the worker. And the main direction of these changes, in our opinion, lies in the convergence of the labor of various groups of the intelligentsia with the labor of a scientist.

in the 19th century in connection with the industrial revolution engineers, economist-production workers, agronomists and so on were placed in a special group within the intelligentsia. Capitalism separated specialists more and more from science, transforming them into narrow practical workers and performers. Under the conditions of socialism the convergence of the activity of these groups of the intelligentsia with scientific labor is again occurring at a higher level of historical progress. It is not only that the process of creating scientific production associations and plant-higher technical educational institutions is proceeding actively, that newer and newer scientific subdivisions are appearing at the works. The engineer in his profession labor, in order not to lag behind the demands being made by the scientific and technical revolution, should engage to a greater and greater extent in scientific research. Now research engineers, who after defending their dissertations remain at the works, are working in the divisions and shops at nearly every major enterprise. The names of author-specialists, who are representatives of plants and factories, are appearing more and more often in technical scientific journals. The number of engineer production workers, who are winners of Lenin and State prizes in the field of science and technology, is increasing. Science as an integral part of the culture of society is now being developed owing to the labor not only of the scientist, but also of the engineer, the agronomist and the physician.

The convergence of the labor of entire groups of the intelligentsia with scientific activity is making new, greater demands on the general and special knowledge of the intelligentsia. It is not necessary to prove that obvious fact that only the highly educated specialist will be able to enrich science. Therefore, we cannot agree with the opinion of a number of researchers, who consider acceptable and even progressive such a phenomenon as the forced replacement due to a number of reasons of engineering, teaching and other positions by "experienced workers," who do not have a special education. According to numerous data, their number in the national economy is steadily decreasing and will decrease. Therefore the attempt to perpetuate the promotion of "experienced workers" without an education to positions which specialists should hold, and thereby to declare such promotion as a "permanent source" of the reinforcement of the ranks of the intelligentsia, in our opinion, does not hold water.

A number of new trends, which attest to the increase of the role of the intelligentsia in the development of culture and to the change in the internal content and scope of its functions in socialist society, were examined in this article. It is once again necessary to emphasize that it is a matter precisely of trends. Far from all intellectuals are engaged in ideological activity, management and the education of the young generation and are making their contribution to the development of science. An "abnormal separation of physical labor from mental labor," the fear of direct practical work, about which V. I. Lenin wrote in his day, still remain for a considerable portion of the intelligentsia. All this is so, but behind these phenomena it is impossible not to note the trends of development of the socialist intelligentsia.

We have only mentioned the most important of them. The effect of these trends not only does not separate the intelligentsia from the main social groups of Soviet society, but, on the contrary, as we have attempted to show, is leading to the gradual obliteration of the boundaries between the intelligentsia, the working class and the peasantry.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 38, p 167.
2. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 40, p 253.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 39, p 427.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 7, p 9. F. Engels expressed this idea in the article "The Movements of 1847" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 4, p 467).
5. V. V. Vorovskiy, "Soch." /Works/, Vol II, Moscow, 1931, p 14.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" /By the Leninist Course/, Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 626.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 44, p 351.
8. Ibid., Vol 51, p 299.
9. A. Bebel, "Budushcheye obshchestvo" /The Future Society/, Moscow, 1959, p 111.
10. N. P. Fedoseyev, "Culture and Morals," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 4, 1973, p 29.

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OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 106-111

/Article by N. A. Aitov and R. T. Nasibullin/

/Text/ In spite of the large number of publications concerning the intelligentsia, the second largest (following the working class) social group of Soviet society, inadequate attention, in our opinion, is being devoted to the processes taking place in it. Among them is the occupational mobility of specialists with a higher education.

The change of occupation by people belonging to the intelligentsia has a specific social importance, which is determined by the peculiarities of the various types of skilled mental labor.

According to the results of studies made by the sociological laboratory of the Ufa Institute of Aviation,[1] one out of three of those surveyed with a higher education at present is not working in his specialty at a higher educational institution (see Table 1). When examining the reasons for this fact it is necessary to take into account that the occupational mobility of specialists is a complex social phenomenon, while its consequences and influence on the life of society are quite contradictory. On the one hand, occupational mobility results in enormous additional expenditures, for in most cases the state has to train a new worker for the place of the worker who is training for a new occupation. In 1975 3.04 billion rubles were spent on training personnel with a higher education.[2] If approximately one-third of the graduates of higher educational institutions do not work in their specialty, this means that 1 billion rubles out of the 3 billion rubles are being spent annually extremely ineffectively.

On the other hand, occupational mobility is an objective and necessary condition of the development of science and technology, the emergence of new fields of knowledge. Let us turn to an example. The construction of nuclear electric power stations has been carried out in the country since the early 1950's, although the training of specialists in the specialties necessary for this began only in the late 1970's. Production necessity in this case forces people of traditional occupations to give up their specialty,

which they acquired at a higher educational institution, and to transfer to a job in the newly created fields of science and production.

Table 1

Conformity of Specialization of Job to the Specialty Acquired at a Higher Educational Institution, Percent of Total Number of Surveyed Specialists in the Cities of Neftekamsk, Sterlitamak and Naberezhnyye Chelny

Specialty	Works in specialty acquired at higher educational institution	Does not work in specialty acquired at higher educational institution
Instructor of humanities	79.4	20.6
Instructor of natural and precise disciplines	80.9	19.1
Engineer-economist	76.5	23.5
Physician	90.8	9.2
Mechanical engineer	44.3	55.7
Process engineer	56.7	43.3
Electrical engineer	65.8	34.2

Strictly speaking, the concept "new specialty" has a broader meaning as compared with the one in which it is usually used. The point is that in practice there cannot be a complete new occupation, for it arises not in a blank space, but on a firm theoretical and practical basis, which was prepared by the abundant experience of preceding generations. Therefore, every new specialty is "made," as paradoxical as this may be, by nonspecialists: they form the material and theoretical base, elaborate the program and content of the course, according to which students are then trained, and so on.

Many specialists transfer to a job in a new occupation not because the development of science and technology, the need for the assimilation and development of their new fields require this. For example, 32.3 percent of those surveyed, judging from their responses, changed their specialty, which they acquired at a higher educational institution, in connection with a move to a different city, where there was no work in their specialty, one out of ten was transfered to another official position on a formal basis. The proportion of people, who went to work not in the specialty acquired at a higher educational institution immediate after assignment, is nearly the same. Of those survey, 7.9 percent changed occupation for health reasons; 6.6 percent--for the reason that they did not like the specialty acquired at a higher educational institution; 7.1 percent--due to other circumstances. Thus, more than 70 percent of the respondents with a higher education, who do not work in their specialty, were forced to change it for reasons which are hard to link with the needs of scientific and technical progress.

In a number of instances occupational mobility is also social mobility. Here we have in mind the quite numerous instances of a shift from the ranks

of the intelligentsia to the ranks of the working class. They can be conditionally divided into three groups.

First, there is the shift from the intelligentsia to worker-intellectuals when engineers operate complex units. To a certain extent this phenomenon is also occupational mobility, for the engineer has to acquire completely different skills, which are new for him, within the same specialty, to master it in a different facet.

Second, the shift of former teachers, agricultural specialists and so on to the position of workers out of material considerations. This type of mobility is extremely disadvantageous to society, which has spent large amounts of money on the training of certified specialists. One of the important causes of this type of social mobility is the lower level of wages for some groups of the intelligentsia, especially young specialists, as compared with workers.

Third, the forced shift of some intellectuals to workers as a result of the fact that they fall short from the ethical point of view of the great demands which are made on specialists and especially on managers. As a rule, these people do not become a part of the most developed portion of the working class (worker-intellectuals and highly skilled workers), but are included among unskilled workers.

In most instances the shifts of specialists with a higher education take place within the intelligentsia.

The massive scale of the change of occupation of the intelligentsia makes it incumbent to examine more specifically the causes of this phenomenon. Although only about 6-7 percent of the specialists give as the reason for changing occupation the fact that they did not like to old one, in reality the influence of this factor is much stronger. The studies conducted by us in 1978 among graduates of the Ufa Institute of Aviation, who work at industrial enterprises,[3] showed that of the total number of those surveyed 43.8 percent enrolled in a higher educational institution simply out of the desire to study, to obtain a diploma, 27.0 percent--as a result of an inclination for the given occupation and family traditions, 18 percent--on the advice of relatives, teachers and comrades, 5.5 percent--for incidental reasons, 1 percent--out of material considerations and 4.1 percent--for other reasons. The data for other higher educational institutions show that from 40 to 60 percent of the students enroll in them out of the aspiration to obtain a diploma, and not to master a specific occupation. Among those who enrolled in a higher educational institution through an inclination for the given occupation, nearly 38 percent studied only with marks of "good" and "excellent," during training of this contingent about 7 percent at some time received unsatisfactory marks. At the same time among those who enrolled out of the desire simply to study or to obtain a diploma, nearly 70 percent studied primarily with a mark of "satisfactory," while 20 percent also received unsatisfactory marks.

The orientation toward a higher education as such, and not toward an occupation leads to a negative attitude initially toward studies, and then to work in the specialty. If we take into account, moreover, the quite close correlation between how a person studied and what rating managers give him during the period of his work as an engineer, it is possible to conclude that enrollment in a higher educational institution only for the purpose of obtaining a diploma in many respects is responsible for the low indicators of the quality of the work of a specialist. Here we are in fact dealing with a specific social orientation without a pronounced occupational orientation. It turned out that it is this category of graduates of higher educational institutions who first of all change occupations. When the need arises to be retrained for a new specialty, they are the first to volunteer to do this. Among them the proportion of those not satisfied with their labor is the highest, the turnover of personnel (and accordingly the change of occupation in connection with the change in the place of labor) is the highest. Thus, society incurs specific losses (in the form of excessive mobility of workers) as a result of the improper social and vocational orientation of young people.

But at the same time it is impossible to treat occupational mobility only as a negative phenomenon. It enriches the worker in many ways and makes him more valuable for production. Thus, in our study of the graduates of the Ufa Institute of Aviation the average of the overall grade of the people who did not change specialty was 3.9; of those who changed occupation--4.1. Thus, in most instances the latter work better and the change of occupation is advantageous both to the workers and to society. For 59.2 percent of the graduates of the Ufa Institute of Aviation, who changed occupation, as a result of this wages increased and for only 11.3 percent did they decrease. Working conditions improved for 39.9 percent of those who changed specialty, they remained the same for 28.6 percent, became worse for 20.7 percent, 10.8 percent could not determine the changes. The average wage of those who did not change occupation is 173.9 rubles, for those who changed once--179.9 rubles, twice--173.4 rubles, three times--192.6 rubles, four times--261.4 rubles (of course, here it should be taken into account that the people who changed their specialty more than once are, as a rule, engineers with a long length of service).

How do you explain this strange effect, when "dabblers" work better than "specialists"?

First, here the relatively short distance of the change of occupation has an effect. In most instances (except for those employed in agriculture) intellectuals change their occupation to a more or less related one (see Table 2).

We see that the majority of specialists change occupation within their own sectors of the national economy and field of knowledge (a transfer to a different sector can also occur without a change of occupation, therefore intersectorial mobility is considerably greater than interdisciplinary mobility). Occupational mobility within a given field of science, apparently,

is not so much a change of occupation as it is a change of a narrow speciality within it.

Table 2

Framework of Occupational Mobility of Specialists, Percent of Those Who Changed Occupation

City	Changed occupation (specialty) within			
	the same sector of the national economy	another sector	the same scientific discipline	another scientific discipline
Ishimbay	60.9	39.1	78.2	21.8
Kamyshin	52.7	47.3	74.3	25.7
Neftekamsk	39.7	60.3	69.8	30.2

Inasmuch as radical changes in occupation are very rare, the shifts are simpler for those who have studied more successfully at a higher educational institution. Here the acquisition of a second or third occupation makes it possible to use methods, which are not tradition for it, but are traditional for the former specialty. As a result, the opportunities of a mobile specialist are considerably more extensive than those of a "basic" professional.

Second, the great efficiency of the labor of mobile specialists is explained by the broad and thorough nature of education at Soviet higher educational institutions. Nearly 10 percent of those surveyed changed occupation in connection with promotion to various organizational work in party and other public organizations, soviets, ministries and so on. The intradisciplinary occupational mobility of engineers is also facilitated in connection with the fact that general scientific and general technical subjects, which are the basis of special knowledge, are studied at all technical higher educational institutions.

Third, a change of occupation during the first years of work (and frequently immediately after assignment) of young specialists is accomplished by them relatively easily also because at higher educational institutions instruction so far has basically a theoretical direction. During the first years after graduating from a higher educational institution its graduate does not so much work as he finishes his training in practice, acquires skills of work, including managerial work, in addition to general theoretical knowledge. This also facilitates the change of specialty.

The method of "retraining," of course, is also of substantial importance. The majority of those who changed occupation studied it independently (in Neftekamsk--71.2 percent, in Ishimbay--49.6 percent, in Kamyshin--61.1 percent). Only 7 to 20 percent of them acquired the new skills by means of studying in special courses. There are even fewer of those who completed a second higher educational institution or graduate studies in a different specialty. The overall grade of the graduates of the Ufa Institute of

Aviation, who acquired a new specialty independently, is only 3.72, while that of those who studied in courses is 4.3. If we recall that on the whole the grade of the graduates of the Ufa Institute of Aviation, who work in a specialty acquired at the higher educational institution, was 3.9, we see that the people who acquired a new occupation by means of independent study are indeed "dabblers" and work worse than "professionals."

Summarizing what has been said, it is possible to conclude that there are, it seems to us, two basic means of controlling the occupational mobility of specialists with a higher education.

The first is the improvement of vocational guidance and occupational selection for higher educational institutions. It is necessary for the orientation toward a higher education to be supplemented by vocational guidance, for a person to seek not only the acquisition of a diploma, but also a specific occupation which interests him, in which he would not be disillusioned later. Meanwhile the notions of school leavers about their training at a higher educational institution and their future specialty are very approximate. That is how the graduates of the Ufa Institute of Aviation, who now work at plants, rated them (Table 3). It seems that the solution of this problem cannot be left completely to higher educational institutions themselves: local organs, which are in charge of manpower resources, should first of all deal with vocational guidance, especially with allowance made for the decrease of competition at technical higher educational institutions. The further elaboration of the methods of selection for higher educational institutions is also in store. The presently existing admission regulations do not ensure its maximum effectiveness, as a result we frequently have to deal with the wrong choice of an occupation and disenchantment with it.

Table 3

Information of Graduates About Higher Educational Institution and Future Specialty, Percent of Those Surveyed

Information on higher educational institution and vocational opportunities	Knew well	Knew approximately	Did not know
Subjects of study	14.9	69.7	15.4
Possible assignment	11.9	56.3	31.7
Sectors of national economy in which graduates of institute work	36.5	56.5	7.0
Usual wage of graduate	25.1	50.2	24.7
Opportunities for occupational growth	15.3	52.5	32.2
Creative opportunities of the labor of engineers	17.3	55.6	27.1

The other method is the improvement of the forms of the acquisition of a new occupation. In our opinion, the need has arisen for the organization of permanent special sectorial courses, the completion of which would promote an increase of the quality of work of specialists who have changed occupation.

We should especially dwell on the occupational mobility of agricultural specialists. In 1975 1,004,000 specialists with a higher and secondary specialized education, who have agricultural specialties, were employed here.[4] Every year 53,000-56,000 people of agricultural specialties graduate from higher educational institutions and 142,000-144,000 specialists graduate from tekhnikums,[5] that is, about 200,000 in all. This means that only five graduating classes from higher educational institutions and tekhnikums are working in agriculture. The increased mobility of these specialists is connected with their migration from the countryside to the city and can be overcome in the future only on the basis of the elimination of the substantial differences between the city and the countryside. The elaboration and implementation of measures on the improvement of the conditions of the work and daily life of agricultural specialists can reduce this mobility to some extent.

Such calculations with respect to the graduates of pedagogical higher educational institutions and schools show that at present only eight complete graduating classes of these educational institutions are working at schools. The high level of mobility of this category of the intelligentsia is explained, first of all, by the considerable migration of teachers of the rural school, second, by the inadequate opportunities for their promotion. Apparently, the development of special programs for solving the problem of the mobility of agricultural specialists and teachers (especially rural teachers) is necessary. This problem cannot be solved only by administrative means or measures of persuasion, without the implementation at each kolkhoz and sovkhoz and in each rayon of a special program which would include measures on the provision of housing, products and transportation, on the creation of specific sociocultural conditions and so on.

The question of the opportunities for social advancement for specialists in various occupations also merits greater attention. If we want to reduce their excessive mobility to some extent, we must equalize their different groups in the number of stages of promotion--by a specific ranking of positions subject to the degree of occupational skill.

The optimization of the processes of mobility means in one instance (for the disappearing specialty) its stimulation, while in another measures on its reduction. It is possible and necessary to control the occupational mobility of specialists and to reduce its negative consequences to naught by means of various measures of both an economic and a social nature.

FOOTNOTES

1. The studies were conducted in the city of Kamyshin of Volgogradskaya Oblast, the city of Naberezhnyye Chelny of the Tatarskaya ASSR, the cities of Ufa, Ishimbay, Sterlitamak, Neftekamsk and Uchaly of the Bashkirskaya ASSR.

2. See VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 3, 1977, p 95.

3. In this study the filling out of questionnaires by specialists was combined with their rating by managers. The overall rating and the rating of knowledge, abilities and personal attributes (in points) were established. The ratings show the real degree of acquisition by an engineer of the knowledge and skills necessary for the job, that is, the occupational capabilities which in many respects determine the quality of his work.

4. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR za 60 let" /The USSR National Economy After 60 Years/, Moscow, 1977, p 977.

5. Ibid., pp 393, 394.

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CSO: 1806

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKER-INTELLECTUALS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 112-114

/Article by Anatoliy Andreyevich Kostin, graduate student of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee/

/Text/ Some experience of studying worker-intellectuals has been gained in scientific literature.[1] However, so far a uniform approach to the definition of this social stratum has not been elaborated, its typical features and peculiarities have not been examined fully enough.

In 1978 the Zlatoust City Party Committee jointly with the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and the Institute of Economics of the UNTs of the USSR Academy of Sciences conducted a study,[2] the goal of which was the study of the process of the convergence of workers and engineering and technical personnel in the sphere of culture. The obtained results made it possible to identify the following basic features of the spiritual makeup of worker-intellectuals.[3]

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1. See A. M. Gelyuta, V. I. Staroverov, "Sotsial'nyy oblik rabochego-intelligenta" /The Social Character of the Worker-Intellectual/, Moscow, 1977; M. N. Rutkevich, "Tendentsii razvitiya sotsial'noy struktury sovetskogo obshchestva" /Trends of Development of the Social Structure of Soviet Society/, Moscow, 1975, and others.

2. At the seven leading enterprises of Zlatoust 2,000 people were surveyed (1,000 workers and 1,000 engineering and technical personnel). The supervisors of the study were Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor L. N. Kogan, Candidates of Philosophical Sciences N. N. Kiselev and B. S. Pavlov.

3. We distinguished workers having a secondary specialized or a higher education and skill category V-VI, whom we assigned to the group of worker-intellectuals. The social activeness of this group in various areas of cultural activity is compared with the social activeness of engineering and technical personnel and workers, taken as a whole.

First, physical and mental labor with the predominance of intellectual activity (the organizational and experimental preparation of production, the adjustment of systems and the overall monitoring of their operation) are combined harmoniously in the activity of the group of workers being studied. Among them 77.5 percent are engaged in highly skilled mechanized labor, while among all workers 54.5 percent are.

Second, a high degree of satisfaction with the work being performed distinguished this group: 62.1 percent of them are completely satisfied, 27.6 percent are not completely satisfied and only 5.9 percent are not at all satisfied with their labor. According to this indicator the group in question is closest of all to engineering and technical personnel (52.1, 39.5 and 6.2 percent respectively) and is even superior to them; among workers of low skill the responses were distributed in the following manner: 45, 36.7 and 16.4 percent.

The data (see Table 1) show that worker-intellectuals, who have a high level of education and skill, are oriented to a considerably greater degree than other workers toward a creative job which is conducive to occupational growth; among them there are few who wish to engage in simple types of labor. In this respect the closeness of the positions of workers of the new type and engineering and technical personnel comes to light.

Table 1

Orientation of Personnel Toward a Specific Type of Labor,*
Percent of Those Surveyed in Each Group

Categories of personnel	What kind of job they prefer					
	simple	leaves time for leisure	creative	is conducive to occupational growth	well-paid	is of benefit to society
All workers	33.3	8.6	24.1	11.5	47.1	42.5
Worker-intellectuals	5.9	10.7	57.1	21.4	50.0	53.6
Engineering and technical personnel	6.7	10.2	65.2	23.3	43.3	49.2

*When gathering the information the respondent was invited to choose from the available set not more than three items. Therefore the total of the percent in each line exceeds 100 percent.

Third, a high level of political culture and social activeness is characteristic of the group in question. Thus, 73.7 percent of them have permanent assignments in party, trade union and Komsomol organizations (in the total population of workers--45.7 percent, among engineering and technical personnel--71.6 percent).

The worker-intellectuals explain their involvement in sociopolitical activity by the following reasons (see Table 2).

Table 2

Motives Prompting Personnel to Participate in the Social Life of the Enterprise,* Percent of Those Surveyed in Each Group

Category of personnel	Motives for participation					
	aspiration to know the life of the collective better	desire to participate in management of affairs of collective	public work helps combat existing shortcomings	without participating in public work it is hard to be promoted	sense of duty	participation in public work is conducive to an increase of prestige
All workers.	45.6	12.6	26.4	5.0	10.9	10.3
Worker-intellectuals	54.8	15.5	40.5	2.4	22.6	22.6
Engineering and technical personnel.	42.9	19.6	28.3	4.1	23.4	20.7

*When gathering the information the respondent was invited to choose from the available set not more than three items. Therefore the total of the percent in each line exceeds 100 percent.

The analysis of the data shows that all those surveyed regard public work first of all as an important form of participation in the life of the collective and the combatting of existing shortcomings. However, several differences in the opinions of the respondents on this question, which are connected with membership in one socioprofessional group or another, should also be noted. Thus, the participation of worker-intellectuals in public work, which is motivated by a sense of duty, as well as by the great prestige of public work in the collective, promotes a sharp increase (twofold) of the corresponding indicator for the entire population of surveyed workers. In this respect, as with respect to the orientations toward a specific type of labor, the position of the stratum of workers in question is close to the position of engineering and technical personnel.

Fourth, the diversity of interests in the area of spiritual culture is characteristic of worker-intellectuals. One of the indicators of this is the provision of cultural and personal items (see Table 3).

Table 3

Provision of Personnel With Cultural and Personal Items, Percent of Those Surveyed in Each Group

Cultural and personal items	Have the corresponding items		
	workers as a whole	worker-intellectuals	engineering and technical personnel
Black and white television	87.3	88.1	88.8
Radio, radio-phonograph	59.8	72.6	36.7
Camera	17.8	34.5	40.7
Tape recorder	41.4	53.6	62.0
Piano	--	3.6	13.9
Color television	1.2	2.4	2.3
Bayan, accordion	9.2	8.3	9.1
Guitar	8.0	16.7	11.6
Movie camera	1.7	6.0	4.0

Moreover, the category of workers being studied is notable for great activeness in the consumption of spiritual values and in various types of amateur creative work (see Table 4).

Table 4

Participation of Respondents in Different Types of Leisure Activity, Percent of Those Surveyed in Each Group

Category of personnel	contact with friends	reading books	studies	participation in sports	creative technical work	listening to music	studying music	attending theaters	artistic work (literary, musical)
All workers	38.9	53.5	6.9	11.1	3.3	22.9	3.7	42.8	2.4
Worker-intellectuals	42.9	65.5	16.7	13.1	11.9	27.4	6.1	52.9	6.0
Engineering and technical personnel	38.7	65.3	7.7	7.8	8.0	2[illegible]0	3.1	42.3	4.8

The great social and cultural activeness of the workers of this stratum is also confirmed by the fact that their material expenditures on cultural needs in the past five years have increased to a greater extent than among the other categories of those surveyed (among workers as a whole by 15.5 percent, worker-intellectuals by 22.6 percent, engineering and technical personnel by 16.8 percent).

The obtained results attest to the increase of the convergence of workers of highly skilled labor, especially worker-intellectuals, with the production intelligentsia in the area of sociocultural activity. These processes are governed first of all by the significant changes in the nature and content of the labor of workers, which are taking place under the influence of the complete mechanization and automation of production, and by the increase of the demands on their general cultural and skills level.

Let us note that it is necessary to increase the attention toward the problems of elaborating more complete criteria of the distinction of the group of worker-intellectuals, since such indicators as the level of education and the complexity of labor are not adequate for the comprehensive study of this stratum. Here it is important to emphasize that the formation of new strata of the working class takes place on the basis of the close interrelationship of the content of labor, which is becoming more complex, and the corresponding cultural, technical, ideological, political and spiritual growth.

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THE ADAPTATION OF YOUNG TEACHERS TO RURAL LIVING CONDITIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 115-119

/Article by Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Utukov, assistant lecturer of the Chair of Philosophy and Scientific Communism of the Voronezh Institute of Construction Engineering/

/Text/ The activity of rural teachers assumes especially great importance in light of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," which indicates the need "to show constant concern about increasing the general educational, occupational and cultural level of the rural workers."[1] The solution of these problems largely depends on the attachment of teaching personnel to the countryside and the reduction of their turnover. The differences in the level of skills of urban and rural teachers in recent years have been reduced appreciably, but they have not yet been completely eliminated: during the 1970/71 school year 63.4 percent of the teachers of urban schools and 44.5 percent of the teachers of rural schools had a higher education, while during the 1977/78 school year 75 and 63.6 percent respectively did.[2]

The bulk of the graduates of pegagogical institutes receive today an assignment to rural schools. At the same time, according to the data of the departments of public education and sociological research, few remain at rural schools, which attests to the difficulties of the adaptation of young specialists to rural conditions.

The study conducted by the author in Voronezhskaya Oblast in 1977-1978 was devoted to the analysis of the problems of the attachment of rural teachers in connection with the adaptation of young specialists to rural living conditions. Students of pedagogical higher educational institutions and young rural teachers up to the age of 30 were the subject of the study. The main results of this study, which made it possible to identify a number of typological groups of rural teachers according to the degree of their adaptation to various aspects of rural life, are set forth in this article.

Four main spheres of the vital activity of rural teachers: occupational labor, labor in the private subsidiary sector, cultural and personal

activity and sociopolitical activity, were analyzed. The degree of adaptation of the rural teacher in each of these spheres is conveyed by a total mark, which was obtained as a result of adding up the points for each of the components making up this sphere. We called this final, integral indicator the "adaptation index."

The adaptation index of a young rural teacher in the sphere of occupational labor can vary from 0 to 8 points. On the basis of the values of this attribute the following typological groups were obtained: I--a high degree of adaptation (6-8 points); II--an average degree (3-5 points); III--a low degree (0-2 points).

Table 1

Degree of Adaptation of Young Rural Teachers in Various Spheres of Vital Activity Depending on Social Origin, the Place of Residence Before Enrolling in a Higher Educational Institution and the Type of Educational Institution From Which the Young Specialist Graduated, Percent

Sphere of vital activity and degree of adaptation	Social origin				Place of residence before enrolling in a higher educational institution			Type of educational institution	
	workers	kolkhoz farmers	nonspecialist-employees	specialists	city	rayon center	village	university	pedagogical institute
I. Occupational labor									
high	31.6	18.3	14.1	26.6	14.7	36.2	18.5	14.3	21.9
average	59.6	72.7	68.2	58.3	69.2	54.5	74.0	60.6	70.7
low	8.8	9.0	17.7	15.1	16.1	9.3	7.5	25.1	7.4
II. Labor in private subsidiary sector									
high	21.5	36.4	11.7	17.0	9.2	18.2	34.1	12.1	29.3
average	26.8	35.1	25.2	34.7	11.6	32.8	26.1	19.5	24.1
low	51.7	28.5	63.1	48.3	79.2	49.0	39.8	68.4	46.6
III. Cultural and personal sphere									
high	16.4	11.5	17.6	9.2	14.1	20.4	23.8	12.1	19.8
average	33.4	18.1	20.8	27.7	30.2	36.0	26.6	22.8	31.6
low	50.2	70.4	61.6	63.1	55.7	43.6	49.6	65.1	48.6
IV. Sociopolitical activity									
high	24.3	22.1	26.3	35.0	20.3	22.0	28.2	18.6	27.0
average	58.1	68.0	61.3	59.8	61.2	68.5	64.5	66.5	61.4
low	17.6	9.9	12.4	5.2	18.5	9.5	7.3	14.9	11.6

As is evident from Table 1, the highest level of adaptation in the sphere of occupational labor is among young teachers who come from the families of workers. This is not by chance. The analysis of the reasons for the choice of occupation and life plans of the graduates of Voronezh Pedagogical Institute and Voronezh University showed that the workers from working families rated higher than all such qualities of young specialists as the aspiration for creative labor and interesting and meaningful work.

An orientation toward the creative nature of teaching work was also noted among those from families of specialists, which also accords with their comparatively high degree of adaptation in the sphere in question. Those from families of employees adapt worst of all to the work of a rural school teacher, and occupational interests were least pronounced precisely among them.

The analysis of the degree of adaptation of young rural teachers in the sphere of occupational labor depending on the place of residence before enrolling in a higher educational institution shows that this process progresses least successfully among graduates of urban schools and most successfully among graduates of the schools of rayon centers. Let us note here that the latter for the most part are children of workers. The indicator in question also depends on the educational institution from which the young specialist graduated: it is higher among graduates of pedagogical institutes than among university graduates, the majority of whom, as our study showed, from the very start plan to transfer to a job not connected with the school. It is not by chance that 80 percent of the young specialists, who did not report at the beginning of the 1978/79 school year to the rural schools of Voronezhskaya Oblast, have a university education.[3] According to the data of a survey of graduates of Voronezh University, 38.1 percent of them recognized that their choice was a mistake even before graduating from the higher educational institution and before beginning to work. At present the percentage of university graduates at the rural schools of Vozonezhskaya Oblast is about half that at urban schools.[4]

A close connection between adaptation and the availability to young teachers of a private plot was established by the study. Thus, 72.5 percent of the young teachers, who have a private plot, expressed the desire to work in the future at a rural school. Among the teachers, who do not have such a plot, only 15.7 percent wished to work in the countryside.

Those from families of kolkhoz farmers, who before enrolling in a higher educational institution lived in rural areas, first of all provide themselves with a private subsidiary farm. The fact that after graduating from a higher educational institution rural residents return, as a rule, to their native village, also plays a certain role here.

Accordingly, city residents adapt to work in the private subsidiary sector much worse than to occupational work. Among the teachers, who lived in a city before enrolling in a higher educational institution, 79.2 percent do not have a private subsidiary farm.

The most important characteristic of the life of rural teachers is housing (its type, size and provision with amenities). The analysis of the housing conditions of the rural teachers of Voronezhskaya Oblast showed that many young teachers (with a length of service of up to five years) either rent housing from private individuals or live in dormitories or communal apartments (respectively 22.9 and 17.7 percent).

As to the amount of living space per family member, rural teachers are in better conditions than urban teachers. Whereas in the city 41.9 percent of the teachers have more than 10 m^2 of living space per person, in the countryside 57.2 percent of them do. One out of five rural teachers has 16 m^2 and more per family member. However, the provision with amenities so far is considerably lower among rural teachers than among urban teachers.

Only 27.7 percent of the young rural teachers gave an affirmative answer to the question "Are you satisfied with the living conditions?"

Dissatisfaction with the cultural and personal sphere of the rural way of life is the most important cause of the turnover of young rural teachers.

The range of extrafamilial contact is one of the indicators of the adaptation of teachers to rural living conditions. Our study showed that this circle is much broader among urban teachers than among rural teachers: 61.7 percent of the urban teachers have among their friends workers, engineers, physicians and instructors of higher educational institutions and tekhnikums, for 49 percent of the rural teachers the circle of friends does not go beyond the school at which they work.

The limitation of the sphere of contact is one of the obstacles to building a family. This problem is especially acute for young rural women teachers, 47 percent of whom, according to the data of our survey, are unmarried.

One of the most important spheres of vital activity of teachers is the sociopolitical sphere. The participation of rural teachers in public work depends on a number of factors, including the length of service. Of the rural teachers with a length of service of 11-25 years, 92.1 percent have permanent assignments, while among young rural teachers (with a length of service of up to five years) 76 percent do. As the teachers themselves indicate, the reason for this is the poor organization of daily life, the lack of time and the inability to effectively organize their labor and leisure.

The degree of adaptation of young teachers to rural living conditions as a whole takes the form of a total mark, which was obtained as a result of adding up the points for all four spheres of vital activity. The values of this generalizing "adaptation index" range from 6 to 20 points. On the basis of these values the following typological groups of young rural teachers were obtained: type I--a high degree of adaptation (14-20 points), type II--an average degree (7-13 points), type III--a low degree (0-6 points) (see Table 2).

Table 2

Degree of Adaptation of Young Teachers to Rural Living Conditions Depending on Social Origin, Place of Residence Before Enrolling in a Higher Educational Institution and the Type of Educational Institution From Which the Young Specialist Graduated, Percent

Factor of adaptation	Degree of adaptation		
	high	average	low
Social origin			
workers	26.1	48.7	25.2
kolkhoz farmers	18.1	45.0	36.9
nonspecialist-employees	14.2	51.2	34.6
specialists	10.3	69.1	20.6
Place of residence before enrolling in a higher educational institution			
city	6.2	49.5	44.3
rayon center	13.2	68.3	18.5
village	22.1	50.3	27.6
Type of educational institution			
university	3.8	44.6	51.6
pedagogical institute	16.2	55.2	28.6

Table 3

Degree of Adaptation of Young Teachers to Rural Living Conditions Depending on Housing Conditions, Size of Wage and Marital Status, Percent

Factor of adaptation	Degree of adaptation		
	high	average	low
Housing conditions			
separate apartment	31.3	58.4	10.3
own house	15.7	67.9	16.4
room in a communal apartment	2.4	42.5	55.1
dormitory, in a private apartment	0.6	20.8	78.6
Wage			
to 100 rubles	14.2	55.4	30.4
101-150 rubles	13.0	40.2	46.8
151-200 rubles	22.7	76.3	1.0
Marital status			
married	20.4	56.0	23.6
single	6.4	57.2	36.4

The success of adaptation of young teachers to rural living conditions is greatly influenced by their material and personal status, particularly wages (see Table 3). The comparison of the material status of young teachers with the representatives of other detachments of the rural intelligentsia up to the age of 30 by means of the indicator of the average material security of this group (the weighed arithmetic mean) showed that whereas for teachers this indicator is equal to 1.3, for medical personnel it is 1.6

and for the agricultural and livestock intelligentsia and engineering and technical personnel it is 1.8. Meanwhile, the labor of a teacher is no less important that the labor of other rural specialists.

Nearly three-fourths of those who remain to work in the countryside are former rural residents. Consequently, the orientation toward rural young people in admissions to pedagogical higher educational institutions, despite their somewhat poorer general educational training, on the whole is proving its value.

The turnover of young rural teachers is also connected with the excessive feminization of the teaching profession. Married couples adapt to rural conditions most successfully, single women adapt least successfully.

The importance of material factors in increasing the prestige of the teaching profession has already been pointed out. The purposeful, skillful promotion of the teaching profession as a profession for men could be of no less benefit in solving this problem. The media are called upon to play a decisive role in this.

FOOTNOTES

1. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 goda" /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979/, Moscow, 1979, p 13.

2. "Narodnoye obrazovaniye, nauka i kul'tura v SSSR" /Public Education, Science and Culture in the USSR/, Moscow, "Statistika", 1977, pp 97, 98; V. N. Yagodkin, "Pedagogicheskiye kadry shkoly i sovershenstvovaniye vospitaniya uchashchikhsya" /The Teaching Personnel of the School and the Improvement of Student Instruction/, Moscow, "Pedagogika", 1979, p 97.

3. Data of the Department of Personnel of the Voronezhskaya Oblast Department of Public Education.

4. According to the results of a questionnaire survey, which the author conducted in Voronezhskaya Oblast during the 1977/78 school year within the All-Union Research Project "The Teacher."

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SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND PROPAGANDA WORK

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/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Vilen Nikolayevich Ivanov, chief of the Department of Sociological Problems of Propaganda of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ "The main peculiarity, the source of the effectiveness, vital strength and efficiency of all our ideological work is its scientific nature."[1]

Propaganda under the conditions of socialism is one of the most important superstructural institutions, which have a complex internal structure and perform diverse tasks in the spiritual life of society. Its main purpose consists "in the comprehensive explanation to the broadest masses of workers of Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy, their provision with a knowledge of the laws of social development, the increase of the consciousness, organization and social activeness of the popular masses in their drive for socialism and communism."[2]

The content of propaganda and its methods of influencing the masses are directly dependent on the specific historical situation and on the nature of the problems being solved by the Soviet people and their political vanguard--the Communist Party--at one stage or another of the building of socialism and communism.

The most important peculiarity of the present stage of social development is first of all the fact that the building of mature socialism in our country and the progress of the building of socialism in other socialist countries led objectively to the strengthening of the positions of socialism in all spheres of the confrontation of the two opposed social systems: socialism and capitalism. At the same time "the ideological struggle of the two systems is becoming more active, imperialist propaganda is becoming more subtle.

"In the struggle of the two world outlooks there can be no place for neutralism and compromises. Great political vigilance, active, effective and

convincing propaganda work and the timely repulse of hostile ideological diversions are needed here."[3]

The pressing demands on propaganda work under present conditions are reflected in this clause of the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress.

There is no doubt that the constant and extensive use of the data of Marxist-Leninist sociology is one of the most important conditions of the assurance of the activeness, effectiveness and convincingness of propaganda. The fact that sociology is not the only science, which "nurtures" propaganda and develops its scientific bases, does not belittle its importance in the least and does not make the study of the main directions and nature of its interrelationship with propaganda less urgent.

The fundamental connection of propaganda with sociology as a science can be traced on all levels of sociological knowledge: on the level of general Marxist sociological theory--historical materialism, on the level of special sociological theories (for example, the sociology of labor, the family, education and so on) and on the level of empirical research.

Propaganda needs a knowledge both of the most general laws and trends of social development and of their specific manifestation in one sphere or another of social practice. Consideration of this type becomes possible, in particular, on the basis of the extensive use of the conclusions of sociology, which gives a general picture of the development of the communist socio-economic formation at one specific historical stage or another.

One of the most important tasks of propaganda is the extensive dissemination of knowledge about the socialist way of life. Its successful solution presumes a thorough scientific understanding of the typical traits and peculiarities of the latter, the precise description of its individual aspects and spheres. Sociology provides propaganda with a knowledge of the main indicators of the development of the socialist way of life, helps to correctly appraise the level of what has been achieved and to avoid anticipation in the appraisals of the real state of affairs. At the same time the timely detection of "bottlenecks" in one area or another of public vital activity and of the problems and contradictions, shortcomings and errors, which have arisen, is possible on the basis of the study of the materials of sociological studies. The use of information of this type helps to perform explanatory and educational work more purposefully, is conducive "to raising and solving boldly and on the basis of principle, in a Leninist way the urgent problems of our development and to ensuring the extensive participation of the workers in surmounting the existing shortcomings."[4]

A thorough and comprehensive knowledge of reality and the precise scientific analysis of specific facts in one specific situation or another make it possible to make propaganda more effective and efficient.

information, which is diverse in its content and nature, is used in propaganda work. But among its different types social information, that is, information "which concerns first of all the relations of people, their interaction, their needs, interests and so on,"[5] holds a central place. Its most important source is sociology, which provides scientific information on the functioning and development of various social communities: classes, social groups, nations, labor collectives and individuals, and studies the process of the obliteration of interclass and intraclass differences, the dialectics of the development of national and family relations, the laws of the formation of the classless society and the socialist way of life, the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution and so on.

"The bases for the classification of social information," G. T. Zhuravlev correctly believes, "might be its topicality, the novelty, importance, efficiency, the contour of management, the hierarchy of management organs, the object and content of information."[6]

In recent times attempts have been made in our literature to classify social information according to the role being performed in the system of management (directive, administrative and legal, organizational, supervisory, reporting), the type of vehicle (oral and printed, visual and aural, documentary), the importance for the audience (a report, a commentary, a theoretical generalization) and so on.

With respect to the time attribute social information can be divided into three classes: social information about the past, the present and the future.

The last type--social forecasting information--is very important for propaganda, makes it possible to get an idea of the prospects of social development and the time frame of the achievement of certain gains in the building of communism and promotes the mobilization of the masses for active constructive work in the name of the quickest possible achievement of the outlined goals.

We should especially single out the information on social experiments, which, by confirming or refuting the hypotheses advanced by science and practice, help us if "to look" into the future, to obtain the necessary data on the possible social consequences of certain practical measures or steps. By conducting them the organs of management verify the correctness of the theoretical notions which have been made, find the optimum alternative in the forward movement toward the outlined goals and determine the most effective means of this movement.

The directions of the use of social information in the process of propaganda activity are diverse. In turn the propagandist not only performs the role of the "disseminator," the "relayer" of already elaborated, ready-made ideas and theoretical principles, but to a certain extent is himself a researcher. The search for the necessary factual material, its gathering and interpretation are integral components of the activity of the propagandist,

which require thorough scientific knowledge and skills and bring it close to the activity of a scientist.

V. I. Lenin, in emphasizing the exceptional importance of a thorough knowledge of the real state of affairs, wrote that "the Marxist should place at the call of his policy /only/ /in italics/ precisely and incontrovertibly proven /facts//in italics/."[7] A knowledge of Marxist-Leninist sociological theory and the mastery of the sociological methods of analyzing social phenomena help the propagandist to distinguish what is typical in an enormous diversity of facts, to establish their natural connection and dependence, in other words, to achieve that conclusiveness of the facts, which is very important in cognitive and propaganda activity.

Of course, propaganda is not limited to the fact that it reports some total of the facts, even if they have been scientifically systematized. From the knowledge of facts and the empirical description of reality propaganda leads people to an understanding of scientific abstractions, categories and laws. "In order to understand," V. I. Lenin wrote, "it is necessary to begin comprehension and studying empirically, to ascend from the empirical to the general."[8] Thorough and diverse knowledge is achieved precisely on the basis of the unity of the empirical and the theoretical. The guarantee of the effectiveness of propaganda lies in this unity.

The methods aspect is also very important. To arrive at specific conclusions and to substantiate them the propagandist has to deal with the organization of factual material and to use certain methods for grouping empirical data.[9]

For propaganda sociology not only serves as a "supplier" of factual material, which has been systematized in a specific matter, but also performs this important role with respect to methods to the extent that it provides the propagandist with methods of systematizing facts and identifying them, the principles of their scientific analysis and the explanation of the connections existing between them, which makes propaganda more convincing and helps it in practice to perform one of its main functions--the persuasion of the masses.

V. I. Lenin emphasized the permanent importance of the latter: "The task of persuading the popular masses can never be put off entirely--on the contrary, it will always be among the important tasks of control."[10]

This function is performed constantly and requires a constantly renewed, scientifically sound system of evidence, which takes into account the changes occurring in life. It should be noted that in the interrelations between propagandists and the audience, as sociological studies show, in recent years some changes have occurred in the direction of a "higher demand" for factual evidence, figures, examples, statistical data and so on.

The audience always treats with great interest those speeches in which systematized numerical material is used extensively and the quantitative

characteristics of the phenomena and processes in question, which characterize the state of affairs in one area or another of practical public work, are given. Many researchers note this.[11]

Such an approach acquires particular importance during the promotion of advanced know-how, new forms of the development of socialist competition and the drive for great labor discipline, advanced methods of the organization of labor and management, ways of increasing the efficiency and quality of work in all the units of the national economic mechanism.

A thorough and comprehensive knowledge of reality and the precise scientific analysis of specific facts in one specific situation or another make it possible to make propaganda more effective and efficient, as subjective and convincing as possible, to overcome the elements of ostentation and sensation, which still occur at times in the practice of ideological work.[12]

An indispensable condition of the successful solution of the problem of persuading the masses is the giving of assistance to them in the correct explanation of their fundamental interests, the indissoluble connection of current, everyday needs with the needs of tomorrow.

"Communist propaganda," G. L. Smirnov notes, "does not limit its role only to enlightenment. Its humanistic meaning and lofty social intent find expression in the fact that it helps the masses to perceive more completely and thoroughly their interests in light of the real problems and contradictions, the urgent tasks of transforming activity."[13]

A knowledge of the real interests of the masses with allowance made for specific vital interests and of the constantly arising problems and contradictions is possible only on the basis of a proper understanding of the dialectics of the ultimate, fundamental goals of the communist transformation of society and of the immediate, intermediate, urgent needs and tasks.

Only by properly comparing tomorrow with the deeds of today will the worker of socialist society be able to understand more thoroughly and completely the fundamental interconnection of the interests of the individual, the collective and society as a whole.

In solving the problem of enlightening and persuading the masses, communist propaganda at the same time educates them in the spirit of irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology and any modifications of revisionism. The rejection of bourgeois and revisionist concepts comes to the masses on the basis of a thorough understanding of the internationalist essence of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the laws and trends of social development, which were revealed by it, on the one hand, and the well-reasoned criticism of the class narrow-mindedness, nationalistic distortions and pseudoscientific nature of bourgeois and revisionist sociopolitical views, on the other.

By studying social processes and phenomena on the methodological basis of historical materialism, sociology obtains the necessary theoretical and

empirical data, which makes it possible to put the masses on the right track in all the most important areas of practical social work and to see the main trends and prospects of social progress. At the same time the data obtained by sociologists makes it possible to conduct counterpropaganda successfully, first of all against the theoretical speculations and ideological diversions of our ideological enemies.

Under the conditions of the intensified ideological struggle over the problems of detente, the stepped-up propaganda attacks on real socialism and the first country in the world to have built a mature socialist society--the Soviet Union--especially its foreign policy, the increase of cultural exchanges and various types of contacts with the bourgeois world, the importance of counterpropaganda is increasing. It should be noted that back in the first years of Soviet power V. I. Lenin directed attention to the important role of counterpropaganda in all the ideological and political work of the party. In this connection his speech at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets is very significant.

In explaining the question of concessions, V. I. Lenin noted that along with concessions capitalist views might also penetrate our country, that the concession holders would create exceptional conditions for their workers, would import for them better clothing, shoes, foodstuffs and so forth. "Such will be their propaganda among our workers." "Our counterpropaganda" should be opposed to it. "Will we really not be able to prove to the workers," V. I. Lenin said, "that capitalism, of course, is able to create for some groups of its workers better conditions, but that due to this the conditions of the remainder of the workers do not improve?... We would be very bad if we feared this...."[14]

Being an integral component of propaganda, counterpropaganda functions as a purposeful ideological and sociopsychological counteraction to hostile propaganda, to the spreading and acceptance of alien social ideas and in practice is present in all the main units of propaganda activity as a whole: in political education, in political information, in lecture propaganda and so on.

By using the data obtained by sociology, counterpropaganda is successfully solving the problem of exposing ideological diversions and "neutralizing" them, on the one hand, and to a considerable extent is striving for the "anticipation," the neutralization of the ideological actions being prepared by our ideological enemies, on the other.

In solving the problems of "ideological anticipation," counterpropaganda relies on the proper understanding by the Soviet people of the real processes of reality, the contradictions inherent in it, the exploiting of which is a favorite method of our ideological enemies. It is effectively exposing the fabrications of anticommunists of all colors and anti-Soviets. By directing attention to the urgent problems of the present, unsolved questions and difficulties which have arisen, it gives the necessary information both to the Soviet people and to our friends abroad, thereby

increasing the knowledge and information of all those, to whom the ideals of socialist are close and understood, who are ready to combat any ideological intrigues of bourgeois propaganda.

Here it is very important for "anticipation" to cover not only the area of problems and their theoretical interpretation, but also the area of events. To anticipate the ideological enemy in supplying information on events and to give a timely interpretation of these events from a Marxist-Leninist stand is an important demand which is being made today on propaganda. Meanwhile, as the data of sociological studies show, the media by no means always satisfy Soviet radio listeners, television viewers and readers in prompt information about current events.

Thus, for example, among the surveyed engineering and technical personnel of Ashkhabad 19 percent indicated this shortcoming, in Chernovtsy--17 percent. Similar data were also obtained for other categories of the population, including in a number of other cities.

Inadequate expeditiousness in political information or its inadequate reasoning and conclusiveness can lead to undesirable consequences: the spreading and intensive circulation of information received from bourgeois sources, the appearance of various kinds of rumors, unhealthy sentiments and so on.

Under the conditions of the fierce struggle of socialist and bourgeois ideology it is impossible to disregard the possibility of hostile propaganda influence on some categories of Soviet citizens.

Taking into account that the activity of numerous radio stations of the imperialist states is the main channel of the spreading among the audience of our country of ideas and views alien to socialism, it is necessary to achieve a proper understanding among the entire population of the socialist countries of the true goals, in the name of which the different "voices" are on the air, numerous radio broadcasts of the capitalist countries to the socialist countries are carried out, the corresponding "literature" and so on is being sent to these countries, to help the population to understand the point of the numerous devices and methods, which western radio propaganda specialists and the workers of the various ideological centers are using extensively.[15] The question, when, under what conditions and what people does hostile propaganda influence, is the subject and task of special scientific studies.[16] It is possible by the means of sociology to evaluate in due time the nature of the forming information situation, the results of the ideological confrontation of the domestic and foreign media.

"We live," L. I. Brezhnev notes, "under the conditions of an unabating ideological war, which imperialist propaganda is waging against our country, against the world of socialism, using the most subtle methods and powerful equipment."[17] The unrestrained aspiration to impose on world public opinion bourgeois and petty bourgeois appraisals and opinions, especially on such issues as "human rights" in the socialist countries, "the Soviet military

military threat," problems of international relations and so on, is being realized by means of them. Propaganda campaigns reminiscent of the worst times of the Cold War are being waged on a large scale for this purpose. By using modern equipment, including space equipment, the specialists of the imperialist propaganda services would like to make people everywhere in the world equally and simultaneously "informed" on events and facts, and in the wording in which the largest wire and television services of the United States and other capitalist countries would consider it necessary to report them, and to impose on them political and ethical views advantageous to imperialism. The ideas of "total influence" on the global audience, into which the modern media should transform the population of the planet, are occupying American strategists from propaganda more and more. Not only individual scholars, but also entire "brain trusts," research centers, including "Sovietological" centers, which work in the interests of the propaganda services of the imperialist states, are devoting more and more attention to their elaboration and substantiation. The work of old and new ideological diversion centers is subordinate to this (it is possible to assign to the new ones, for example, the International Research Center of Samizdat--the Samizdat Archive, which was founded in the spring of 1977 and engages in the gathering of anti-Soviet lampoons, the writing and dissemination of antisocialist literature).[18] The reorganization of U.S. propaganda organs is also serving this goal: the creation on the basis of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and the Office of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State of a new propaganda department--the International Communication Agency (ICA), which concentrates an enormous propaganda machine: the ramified system of radio and television stations of the Voice of America, about 200 "cultural centers" in 120 countries of the world, a vast network of publishing houses, film studios, exhibition centers and so on. The staff of the ICA comes to nearly 9,000, and its budget in 1979 already exceeded $400 million. For the purpose of increasing the ideological influence on other countries, and first of all the countries of the socialist community, measures are being implemented in the United States on increasing the scale of radio propaganda. As the American magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT reported in the article "A New White House Step Which Is Worrying the Russians,"[19] the Carter Administration has decided to deliver over the next 3-5 years 28 new transmitters which are intended for broadcasting to the socialist countries, and 11 new transmitters will be turned over to Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. Of the 17 new transmitters intended for Voice of America, 5 will make radio broadcasts to the USSR and the other socialist countries. Their placement into operation will make it possible to increase the broadcasting capacity by 25 percent. It is interesting to note that in this article the magazine, in citing arguments in favor of the plan outlined by the White House administration, writes openly that in the USSR and the other socialist countries "the activity of the dissidents depends entirely on radio broadcasts." Here, as they say, no explanation is needed.

Concealing their intentions behind the slogan "the free exchange of ideas, information and people," bourgeois ideologists are trying in this way to secure themselves the right to uncontrolled encroachment upon the

information space of any country, in other words, to information expansion. At the same time they are taking vigorous steps to shield the audience of their own country from any penetration whatsoever of information undesirable to the ruling elite. For this purpose the production of shortwave receivers has practically been halted, the cable television network is being expanded, the press and correspondence with foreigners are subject to censorship, the struggle against progressive magazines is being waged by various methods and so on.[20]

So-called sociological propaganda, which is in essence a means of apologia of the bourgeois way of life and the imposition of its standards and norms on large groups of people, which represent various social strata and classes, holds a special place in the work of the bourgeois propaganda services. Many bourgeois theorists are trying to prove the apolitical nature of this propaganda and the lack of an ideological direction in it. However, these tricks can persuade hardly anyone. Points of view, which characterize sociological propaganda as a kind of activity, the goals and tasks of which are of an ideological nature, are becoming more and more widespread even among bourgeois sociologists.[21]

In connection with the fact that in recent years bourgeois ideology has especially stepped up its attempts to elaborate an integral theory of propaganda on the basis of the synthesis of the data of various sciences, and first of all psychology and sociology, their timely critical analysis is acquiring great importance.

Such an analysis makes it possible to understand and evaluate more thoroughly and comprehensively the propaganda practice of the capitalist countries, certain trends or others in its development. "In any propaganda demarche," N. M. Kreyzerov notes, "the theoretical aspect is present in the form of a general aim and posture, which formed on the basis of the underlying principles of the bourgeois world outlook, its party nature, class interests and goals and so on."[22]

The consideration of the general theoretical aims and stands of bourgeois propagandists makes it possible to correctly understand their tactical methods, the goals and methods of conducting various propaganda campaigns and to conduct work successfully on neutralizing them.

An integral component of the organization of the ent re matter of communist propaganda (including counterpropaganda) is the determination of its effectiveness, that is, its real influence on the consciousness, social behavior and activity of people. "Propaganda, in order to be effective," M. F. Nenashev notes, "should be provided with the results of scientific research on the broadest set of problems of both domestic and world development."[23] Here the peculiarity of the interrelationship of propaganda and sociology reveals itself in the fact that propaganda makes extensive use of the data of sociological studies, by means of which it is possible to answer the questions: is the work of propagandists intelligible enough to those to whom it is addressed, how successfully are some groups of workers or others

perceiving and assimilating knowledge and how intensively is this knowledge being transformed into convictions, how does it influence the behavior and practical activity of people, the increase of their creative activeness, the communist attitude toward labor and so on.

It is the proper use of these data which makes it possible to determine the degree of accomplishment of the set goals by comparing the necessary condition with the actually achieved condition. Sociological methods of research help to express quantitatively the conditions of the populations being studied, to characterize with adequate reliability and accuracy the trends which have appeared in their development, which, in turn, makes it possible to make the necessary adjustments in propaganda, to properly assess its strong and weak points, its successes and failures. "A serious sociological study," G. T. Zhuravlev notes, "provides abundant material for the statement and elaboration of theoretical questions and practical steps on the improvement of various aspects of communist propaganda."[24]

The effectiveness of propaganda in many respects depends on the extent to which it takes into account the changes occurring in the audience. Under the conditions of the developed socialist society the ideological and political level of the Soviet people has increased considerably, their spiritual needs have become richer and more diverse. At the same time the high growth rate of the means of mass information and propaganda and the diversity of sources have led to the intensification of the selective approach of the individual with respect to certain means or others of ideological influence, which has made the study of the audience of each type of means of mass information and propaganda, its sociodemographic characteristics and psychological features very urgent.

One of the most important demands being made on propaganda under present conditions is a differentiated approach to different groups of the population, the consideration of the specific nature of the "social existence" of these groups, the nature of their activity and the features of their way of life. It is impossible to successfully solve this problem without regard for the data which sociology provides.

All this convincingly attests to the need for the utmost strengthening of the interrelationship of sociology and propaganda.

Life raises newer and newer problems, which are connected with the need for more accurate and thorough qualitative and quantitative descriptions of various phenomena and conditions of the spiritual life of society, various forms of social and individual consciousness. The gained experience of using the data of sociology in propaganda work along with the increasing "involvement" of sociology in various questions of the everyday life of society convince us that these problems will be successfully solved.

FOOTNOTES

1. M. A. Suslov, "Delo vsey partii" /A Matter of the Entire Party/, Moscow, 1979, p 13.

2. "Kommunisticheskaya propaganda: voprosy teorii i metodiki" /Communist Propaganda: Questions of Theory and Methods/, Moscow, 1974, p 8.

3. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 74.

4. "Decree of the CPSU Central Committee 'On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin'," PRAVDA, 16 December 1979.

5. V. G. Afanas'yev, A. D. Ursul, "On the Essence, Types, Properties and Functions of Social Information," "Nauchnoye upravleniye obshchestva" /The Scientific Management of Society/, Moscow, 1977, p 159.

6. G. T. Zhuravlev, "Sotsial'naya informatsiya i upravleniye ideologicheskim protsessom" /Social Information and the Management of the Ideological Process/, Moscow, 1972, p 46.

7. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 49, p 319.

8. Ibid., Vol 29, p 187.

9. Stressing the importance of methods techniques of grouping material, V. I. Lenin wrote: "The same material yields diametrically opposed conclusions with different techniques of grouping." See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 27, p 190.

10. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 36, p 127.

11. See N. I. Mekhontsev, N. N. Mikhaylov, M. F. Nenashev, "Lektor i slushatel'" /The Lecturer and the Listener/, Moscow, 1975, p 109; N. S. Afonin, "The Audience of Oral Propaganda," "Voprosy teorii i metodov ideologicheskoy raboty" /Questions of the Theory and Methods of Ideological Work/, Moscow, 1977, p 162.

12. See "The Speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 17 November 1979," KOMMUNIST, No 7, 1979, p 18.

13. G. L. Smirnov, "The Honorable Duty of Party Propagandists," KOMMUNIST, No 6, 1976, p 39.

14. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 42, p 116.

15. In all more than 40 foreign radio stations broadcast to the USSR, of them more than 10 conduct broadcasts of a religious nature. The total amount of radio broadcasts to the socialist countries over the past two

decades has increased 1,500-fold. At present in the foreign broadcasting of the United States the proportion of programs to the socialist countries with respect to time exceeds 50 percent; in the FRG it is close to this figure; in England it is more than 25 percent (see N. M. Kreyzerov, "Ideologicheskiye diversii" /Ideological Diversions/, Moscow, 1979, pp 144, 145).

16. See "Marksistsko-leninskaya teoriya sotsial'nogo razvitiya" /Marxist-Leninist Theory of Social Development/, Moscow, 1978, p 133.

17. L. I. Brezhnev, "Aktual'nyye voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty KPSS" /Urgent Problems of CPSU Ideological Work/, Vol 1, Moscow, 1978, p 482.

18. "Psychological" warfare specialists of seven NATO states belonged to it. It is financed by American intelligence.

19. See U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 18 April 1977.

20. See I. Nikolayev, "Pod zheleznoy pyatoy" /Under an Iron Heel/, Moscow, 1978, pp 109-114.

21. See A. Lavrovskiy, "Amerikanskaya sotsiologicheskaya propaganda" /American Sociological Propaganda/, Moscow, 1978, pp 50-52.

22. N. M. Kreyzerov, "Bourgeois Ideology and Propaganda," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 3, 1978, p 119.

23. M. F. Nenashev, "An Important Task of the Ideological Activity of the Party," "Aktual'nyye problemy sovremennoy ideologicheskoy bor'by" /Urgent Problems of the Present Ideological Struggle/, Moscow, 1977, p 25.

24. G. T. Zhuravlev, "Methodological Principles of Sociological Studies of Ideological Work," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 1, 1975, p 27.

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PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL EXPERIMENTING IN EDUCATIONAL WORK

THE SOCIAL EXPERIMENT IN THE PEDAGOGICAL PROCESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 129-137

/Article by Academician Vsevolod Nikolayevich Stoletov, president of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences/

/Text/ The achievements of the Soviet educational system are well known. But as we advance, the opportunities for its further development, the use of which presumes the solution of greater and greater problems, are gradually increasing. A universal secondary education is the height of the socialist cultural revolution, one of the conditions of the realization of the program goals of our party in the area of the formation of the communist consciousness of the people. It is called upon to ensure, on the one hand, the meeting of the increasing needs of the socialist national economy for highly skilled specialists and, on the other, the solution of the problem of the accelerated and harmonious development of the main spheres of socialist culture--the culture of labor, the culture of daily life, the culture of contact, the formation of a complete, comprehensively developed, socially active individual.

In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" the USSR Ministry of Education, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences were set the tasks to seek the fundamental unity of the training and educational process, the formation in pupils and students of a scientific world outlook, high moral and political qualities, diligence; to cultivate in young students an interest in political knowledge, to develop their social activeness in every possible way; to take steps for the further development of extrascholastic work, technical and artistic creative work, physical culture and sports; to strengthen in every possible way the link of the family, the school and the public; to display daily concern about teaching personnel, to enhance more the prestige of the teacher, the instructor, the foreman and the tutor, to develop the patronage of labor collectives over schools and vocational and technical schools.[1]

The intensive scientific study of these problems, the further strengthening of the creative cooperation between pedagogy and related social sciences and first of all sociology, the thorough study and support of new, progressive forms of instruction and education, the extension of the sphere and the increase of the effectiveness of social experimenting in practical pedagogical work are necessary to solve them.

The search for ways to improve the interaction between the family, the school and labor collectives, school instruction and the activity of the media is of particularly great importance for the future of the school. Apparently, it would be correct to say that for the present the enormous educational potential of the family, the patronage work of labor collectives, television and art is being used inadequately by the school, of which not only the school is guilty, but also in part those on whom the more complete realization of the potentials of these ideological institutions in the sphere of the formation of the young generation and its preparation for life and labor depends. We can be sure that if the indicated potentials were realized more according to plan, more effectively, more purposefully and more completely, many of the difficulties, with which the school is now faced, particularly the cases of amoral and even antisocial excesses, might not arise. Consequently, we must stimulate the search for more productive and systematic forms than now of the cooperation between the school and other educational institutions in the interests of the rising generation.

In turn the effectiveness of pedagogical science itself largely depends on how successfully it takes into account, assimilates and utilizes the achievements of the entire system of modern knowledge about man, including the experience of using it both in the social experiment and in everyday practice.

In this connection I will take the liberty to cite two simple examples.

The habit of having at the school advanced and lagging pupils formed over the centuries. In the recent past the latter were expelled from the general educational school and enrolled in trade schools (vocational classes) or went to factories and plants, acquired an occupation and became people of physical labor. In this situation the pedagogical duties of school teachers were not so complicated, the demands on pedagogical science were not great. A different situation formed with the changeover to a universal secondary education: the task arose to teach everyone and to give a real education, combining instruction with the education of an individual of the new, socialist type.

The quick and successful solution of this problem would h[illegible]e been possible without the essentially innovative experience of [illegible]gogical collectives which worked under the direction of A. S. Makarenko, V. A. Sukhomlinskiy and other outstanding Soviet educators.

The notion, which has now become the property of history, that not all children are capable of completing the elementary school syllabus, prevailed until the beginning of the 20th century. Back in the middle of the 18th century Helvetius refuted it, proving that each child possesses sufficient attention to learn relatively quickly all the symbols of the alphabet and the procedure of merging them into words. Moreover, he believed that the attention available to any child during his development is sufficient for him to rise to the heights of talent. The first part of the conclusion of the French materialist was confirmed long ago and with room to spare: today children spend considerably less time on learning the alphabet and how to read than in the 18th century. The second part has not yet been accomplished; its achievement is the future task of Soviet pedagogical science and practice.

In 1967-1977 the general educational school and secondary vocational and technical schools changed over to new syllabuses, which were developed in conformity with the current level of development of science and technology. These syllabuses are based on the fact that socialist society should raise not only scientifically and technically highly educated specialists, but also a brilliant, spiritually wealthy individual.

The introduction of the new syllabuses requires research and experimenting in the area of the most effective use of academic subjects, including the natural sciences, in the interests of the spiritual development of the rising generation, its training to perform diverse public (constitutional, occupational, family and so on) duties.

The obligatoriness of comprehensive education: ideological and political, moral, labor, was indicated at the 25th CPSU Congress. Therefore the question of the content of education, in other words, of syllabuses, should be solved in conformity with the demand for the education of an active builder of communism. "Enterprising, creative participation in labor and social life is an indicator of the ideological and civic maturity of a person."[2] This clause from the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" is one of the criteria of the determination of the content of education.

In the process of introducing the new syllabuses the question of so-called overloads of the students arose. Surveys of students were conducted to determine the real state of affairs. Some of them responded that they did not feel overloaded and that the new syllabuses were quite reasonable. A large group of respondents indicated that the syllabuses, although very difficult, were nevertheless reasonable, but a lot of time was required to do homework. And, finally, the children, in whose opinion the syllabuses were unreasonable, belonged to the third group. Thus, the survey itself did not yield anything unexpected: of course, students differ in aptitude, previous training, diligence, opportunities to receive methods assistance and so on. The differences in the skills of teachers undoubtedly also strongly affect the results of instruction.

Obviously, this should also find adequate reflection in the system of the formation of appraisals of the work of students and teachers. Meanwhile a more uniform and satisfactory picture is observed there. And, of course, it is more difficult to really pull up the lagging student (be it because of inability or due to the lack of diligence) than to do so formally, to say nothing of the fact that formal pulling up--by the simple overstatement of grades--undermines the efforts to make honest and industrious citizens of children. It is a comparatively simple problem, but it is impossible to solve it without experimenting, because it is not simply a matter of a mania for percentages, but of the school's lack of scientifically sound and verified criteria of the evaluation of the work of the pedagogical collectives.

The question, toward which students--advanced, average or lagging--should syllabuses and textbooks be oriented, has been discussed for a long time in pedagogy.

The change in the content of education at the modern school, which is dictated by the task of cultivating a comprehensively developed individual, as well as by the high level of development of science and technology, presumes instruction at a higher level of difficulty, which requires great additional efforts on the part of educators. It is well known that it is possible to get the same scientific truth through to students on a different level of popularity; one of the means of increasing the effective of pedagogical activity lies precisely in this. Some school teachers are already making a persistent search in this direction, and not without success. But they need organizational assistance, since a certain amount of time is needed to study the aptitude of students and to help the lagging ones. However, given the present size of a class (35-45 students) additional pedagogical assistance is a difficult task, and at times an impracticable one. Therefore, the reduction of the size of a class to the optimum established by many years of practice (25 students) is of no less importance than the improvement of syllabuses and textbooks.

Moreover, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, "it is important to cultivate the ability to extend one's knowledge independently, to find one's bearing in the rapid stream of scientific and political information."[3] The successful learning of all the educational material is impossible without this. Unfortunately, the very content of education far from always promotes the accomplishment of the set task. Thus, "teachers are directing just critical remarks toward the new syllabuses in mathematics, Russian, literature, labor, physics, which still envisage not so much the creative learning of the educational material as cramming."[4]

Additional pedagogical activity is based on the everyday improvement of the relations between students and between the students and the teacher. Amicable, friendly relations are the initial condition of the emergence and functioning of the school collective. It is important to remember that the collective grows strong, develops, is united and improves only on the basis of activity. All the students are engaged in the main, educational

activity, but some complete the syllabus more successfully and other less successfully. Which situation in this case can be regarded as normal? The one in which the leaders help their comrades and pull them up to a higher level of progress. At the prerevolutionary gymnasia the advanced gymnasium students and realists frequently considered it their comradely duty to help those lagging in the completion of the syllabus "on a public basis." Such a phenomenon is all the more appropriate in the Soviet school. It is merely necessary to provide the leading students with sound methods of helping the lagging students. As a result educators acquire good assistants in the organization of individual work in the class, who not only pull up their comrades, but also enrich themselves. In the teaching process both the "teacher" and the "student" grow. This work is also revealing new opportunities for the organization of socialist competition at the school.

The cultivation of the human personality and instruction in the management of public and state affairs begin with labor and the acquisition of knowledge. No one in history has appreciated and does appreciate so deeply and accurately the strength of knowledge as the workers. To learn to work--during the first days of its activity the Soviet Government set this task as a comprehensive task for the people: to acquire scientific and technical knowledge, occupational skills, to master the system of accounting and control. Attention was focused on increasing labor productivity, and accordingly on the problems of improving its organization, on the organization of socialist competition.

Competition is inherent in the very nature of man. Socialism, V. I. Lenin wrote, does not suppress competition but, on the contrary, creates for the first time an opportunity to use it truly extensively, truly on a massive scale in the interests of the comprehensive development of the capabilities and talents of the people. The socialist organization of competition presumes the constant improvement of the conditions which would optimize this process, ensuring the earliest possible identification of talents and the creation of the conditions for their flourishing, the development of enterprise and initiative, the encouragement of bold initiative, the gaining of knowledge and experience, the overcoming of obsolete traditions and the utmost support of the new, the unity of word and deed.

The mentioned key points of the socialist organization of competition with the appropriate detailed elaboration are also applicable in school affairs. Competition on socialist, that is, human, bases serves as the most important condition of the scientific solution of the problems of organization and management. But these problems are the most difficult and at the same time the most important.

Attempts to organize competition have already been made in our school. But the criterion used when tallying the results--grades--was clearly unsuitable. The mistakes were discussed, and this is correct, but at the same time the search for reasonable forms of competition, which correspond to the content of the activity of the general educational school, was halted. But practice paves the way to the reasonable. Inexhaustible possibilities

for organizing competition exist when fulfilling the syllabus of the labor education of school children. Student production brigades at rural schools often achieve better results (harvests, milkings, the output on tractors, combines and so on) than brigades of adults. School children compete enthusiastically. But then they set to work on school lessons, and there is not a sound about competition. But, after all, the general educational school is preparing them for work in physical production, in which socialist competition has become a part of everyday life. Consequently, the school is called upon not only to provide children with knowledge, but also to constantly improve labor training and to arm them with the ABC's of the organization of socialist competition. It is possible to find its reasonable forms (for example, competition for standards of behavior) not only in the labor associations of students, but also in the educational process. In the process of fulfilling the program of ideological and political, labor and moral education among the students their leaders, who during the study of the basics of the sciences were perhaps among the lagging students, will necessarily be revealed.

The activity of children in the student collectives is multifaceted. The free choice of the form of participation in it will help to increase substantially the opportunities for the self-affirmation of the forming individual, which will beneficially affect both education and instruction.

The personal passions of the students are also not unimportant to the collective: they enrich its emotional and intellectual life. Participation in sports, collecting and so forth, the drive to achieve the best results by individual students and the collective as a whole are another direction of competition.

I would also like to recall that labor education should not be limited to school lessons in labor. It is time to think about organizing the work of students during vacation. As First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan G. A. Aliyev correctly noted, in performing the duties of a postman, a poster remover, a gardner or a book vendor, "first, the pupil will feel that his labor in reality is useful. Second, be it even for a short time, he will cook a little in the working class pot. And third, he will receive a concrete lesson of a deferential attitude toward the earned ruble."[5]

Much is now being said about organizing the free time of children and adolescents at the place of residence. The role of such work in preventing juvenile delinquency does not arouse the doubt of anyone. However, it is time to think not simply about occupying, entertaining children, but of making their leisure truly meaningful, of using it for the purposes of labor education and vocational guidance.

In connection with the introduction of a universal secondary education the question of developing in children an interest in studying, without which it is impossible to learn all the knowledge stipulated by the syllabus and to completely develop the aptitudes of the students, is becoming

considerably more acute than before. It is no secret that some of them, as they move from class to class, lose interest in studying, as a result of which progress decreases. How is this phenomenon to be explained? What is needed so that during 10-11 school years the interest would not abate, but would grow stronger from year to year? In the past pedagogical science did not devote the proper attention to the creation of conditions which are conducive to the emergence of enthusiasm for studies, today it is obliged to deal seriously with area of education.

One of the possible means of solving the problem was found as a result of studying the experience of trade schools. The following phenomenon attracted attention: some of their students simultaneously attended evening general educational schools. Moreover, some graduates of past years, while working at plants, also studied in the evening. The question arose, what was responsible in this case for the transfer from the general educational school to the trade school. Among the reasons there appeared the following one--"the books were boring." The atmosphere of the trade school and production made them feel the deficiency of knowledge. Later the idea arose of combining vocational and general education in a single educational institution--the secondary vocational and technical school.

The shift from the general educational school to the secondary vocational and technical school gave rise to an interesting new phenomenon: some of the adolescents at the general educational school "held on" with a grade of 3, but at the vocational and technical school began to study with a 4 or a 5 (without any allowances), some of the "mediocre" ones turned into "excellent students." Now the instances when the graduates of secondary vocational and technical schools pass the competitive examinations for higher educational institutions are becoming more and more frequent.

Apparently, the working atmosphere expedites the elaboration of the serious attitude of adolescents toward obtaining knowledge. The fact that the students of vocational and technical schools are faced with a specific task--the obtaining of a certain occupation in a fixed amount of time--also plays a certain role. This stimulates the desire to complete the curriculum.

Thus, the combination of a general education with a vocational education can be an additional stimulus which promotes the development of an interest in studying. And this interest is one of the most important prerequisites of the solution of the problem of the vocational orientation of students. This problem is extremely complicated and multifaceted, because vocational orientation is the search for meaningful vital activity which corresponds as much as possible to the inclinations and aptitude of a person. Our times offer extensive possibilities of the choice of occupation. But there is no person who is capable of becoming an outstanding expert in all fields: for every person this number is limited to one or two. How successfully an individual's life forms and whether he will enjoy esteem and respect in society depends to a decisive extent on how successful the individual is in the chosen type of activity, with what effectiveness he accomplishes it. The many-sidedness of the problem is dictated by the fact that

it has to be solved in a situation where numerous traditions, biases, prejudices, false authorities and notions about occupations, the inability, and at times the unwillingness of parents to assess objectively the aptitude of their children still remain in force.

In a socialist society the law of equal opportunities is absorbed, as they say, with a mother's milk, therefore vocational orientation presumes the simultaneous solution of several problems: 1) the determination of the personal inclinations and aptitude of an individual; 2) consideration of the needs of society and the national economy for specialists of one specialty or another; 3) thorough acquaintance with the specific nature of the different areas of activity; 4) the exposure of the essence of occupations not in words, but subjectively, tangibly.

At present some experimental experience of the vocational orientation of young people in secondary school has already been gained. The activity of Igor' Pavlovich Volkov, a teacher from Reutovo, can serve as an example. For many years now he has been engaged in elaborating methods of identifying and developing the abilities of children. He set up a room for creative work at the school. Here each student has an opportunity to test his own creative forces and inclinations. The teacher has developed several tens of programs of labor activity: the working of metal, wood and clay, painting, a set of herbaria, an insect collection. He is interested in the question, when does the inclination for pedagogical activity arise for a person. In studying it he came to the conclusion that for girls it appears in the fourth or fifth grade, for boys it appears about two years later and more rarely. Girl students of the sixth grade already perform the role of assistants in lessons in the first grade.

On the basis of personal experience I. P. Volkov defends the idea that vocational orientation is nowhere so important as in identifying future educators. It is desirable already in the first grades to select the pupils who display most vividly an aptitude for pedagogical activity, and to supply pedagogical institutes and universities with the young people selected in this manner. In our opinion, this is a correct view. It goes without saying that the thorough scientific elaboration of a system of the earliest possible identification and cultivation of pedagogical talents is necessary for this.

Our school has made a great contribution to the development of the culture of the Soviet people. It has raised many millions of true masters of life, highly moral people who are free of the abnormalities of capitalist society. Nevertheless the school is still indebted here to society.

The information accumulated by science (first of all historical materialism, sociology and psychology) about the processes of the formation of social awareness, its levels and types, the dialectic of the interrelations of social and individual awareness is of enormous value for pedagogical activity. The processes of the emergence and development of the spiritual world of the individual are also being actively studied, but the obtained

interesting results have not yet been brought to the stage of methods and practical recommendations. But educators have an acute need for the appropriate tools. The lack of a practically oriented analysis of the formation of individual awareness has the result that a considerable share of the especially sensitive period of personality development is outside purposeful influence: awareness forms spontaneously.

This has an especially harmful effect on the moral and esthetic culture of adolescents. But moral and esthetic underdevelopment, which is multiplied by the peculiarities of age, by the increased need for emotional experiences, contact, the more and more extensive realization of one's "ego," is fraught with the danger of distorting the entire process of personality development. Only the elaboration and implementation of a broad program of moral and especially esthetic (because this area is the most neglected) education in the school can correct the situation here. It is necessary to devote the most serious attention to this, beginning with the primer and, perhaps, with an earlier period. Senses develop from the very first days of life of a person, when his mind is still "slumbering." And education--spontaneous or controlled--is more successful, the earlier it forms senses, and then senses and the mind in unison. Much of what appears in the character of an adolescent or youth (cruelty or humaneness, honesty or mendacity, kindness or stinginess, good, refined taste or vulgarity, poor taste, laziness or industry and so on) is formed during preschool childhood as a result of the influence of people or things on the senses of the child. During these years, as well as in the first grades it is necessary to give priority to the ethical and esthetic development of children. The means of the artistic word, music and fine arts, labor activity within one's power and considered lessons outdoors develop in a child attention and imagination, help him to get to know the principles of the beautiful and the sublime, and on this basis the principles of morality, of behavior in life. Love for one's home, the country, the street forms the basis of love of the homeland--a deep and effective love. Inclinations for one type of labor or another form at the same time. Teachers with a passion for the study of their region are frequently encountered in the teaching collectives. Scientifically organized regional ethnography and the establishment of museums of regional ethnography fascinate school children and promote the development in them of a sense of patriotism.

The importance of the first textbooks for youngsters is especially great. The nature of the training of preschool and young school children influences the formation of the human personality in no way less strongly (and probably more strongly) than the nature of the training of intermediate and older school children. It would be frivolous not to utilize this property of the smallest things for the laying of a solid foundation of a complete, highly conscious socialist individual at the very start of the path of a person in life.

Experienced teachers, who have studied well in practice the psychology of younger school children, prove convincingly: one should not hasten with the teaching to youngsters of political concepts or the corresponding texts,

which they are not yet able to understand. Meanwhile, this conclusion is not always taken into account by the authors of textbooks and readers for pupils of the first grades. Beginning with the first grade of school, it is necessary to prepare students for the thorough mastery and understanding of Marxism-Leninism in the future. But it is contrary to pedagogy to go too fast.

Duty and responsibility to society are the first qualities in importance of the individual of socialist society. The duty to defend the socialist homeland, concern about its security, the respect of the rights and legal interests of all people and responsibility for all the affairs of the socialist society are the most important sections of the content of education, which are established in the USSR Constitution. It is hardly advisable to show haste with the start of the study of texts of this historical document, but it is necessary to carry out the preparation for a thorough understanding of the Fundamental Law with the very first books for reading and discussions of what has been read, first of all moral and esthetic preparation.

The primary role of theoretical scientific education in the formation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook is understood by all or at least the majority of Soviet educators, but the role of cultivating general, first of all emotional culture is still realized by far from everyone. Meanwhile a world outlook is of value only on the condition that it rests firmly both on knowledge and on thoroughly developed senses.

The more complicated the subject being studied is, the more desirable and necessary is the cooperation of researchers of various specialties in the joint search for the truth. The complexity of the tasks of modern pedagogical science and the steady increase of the number of problems are making more and more acute the need for the conducting of comprehensive studies and at the same time the substantial increase of the participation of experienced teachers, the development of their initiative and activeness in scientific research and the support of everything new and promising.

During everyday contact with the student collective the teacher obtains an opportunity to observe the real process of the formation of a person, to analyze it, to compare the course of this process among different individuals and by means of pedagogical methods to control it.

The life of the student collective, the dynamics of the consciousness of the group of individuals, the influence of the consciousness and the observance of its movement yield abundant information, which often enables observant teachers to anticipate professional researchers. Thus, for example, American scholars over a number of years have studied the processes of the acquisition, remembering, processing and recall of information by people. Scholars of various fields of knowledge are participating in the program: linguists deal with questions of the syntax, semantics and structure of the text; anthropologists are studying the methods by means of which peoples of different cultures organize and classify information; psychologists are analyzing the processes of understanding a text, are discovering the links

between sentences, the ability to draw simple conclusions and to connect a new text with the previously gained knowledge; specialists in the field of applied psychology are elaborating methods of the rational organization of material, which would be conducive to the emergence of an interest in it and would make it more intelligible. The interdisciplinary study has led scholars to the conclusion that the methods elaborated on the basis of the results of research often coincide with the methods which experienced teachers intuitively use with success. This fact is another proof of the possibility of and need for the cooperation of scholars and experienced educators.

The search for new forms and methods of instruction presumes the conducting of experiments directly at the school. But the school is an unusual research object. An especially careful, considered organization of the experiment is required here as nowhere else, because mistakes immediately affect the educational process. In this connection the question arises of the level of the educator who is capable of ensuring success in this work.

At present we have many talented educators. But only individuals bring themselves to speak their piece in pedagogy--this "new word" greatly troubles authors. Innovations, as a rule, go beyond the standard school documents, therefore serious obstacles arise in their way.

The question of the development of initiative is very complicated: on the one hand, the school is inconceivable without stability and, on the other, it cannot stand still, it should keep pace with the times; what is new in pedagogy originates primarily in the school.

The educator-researcher deals with two groups of pedagogical phenomena: mass and isolated. Mass pedagogical phenomena are studied by means of statistical methods. Isolated phenomena at the initial stages are studied qualitatively, according to the results. Each innovation, until it becomes widespread, requires an especially attentive attitude toward it. At this stage the role of the organs of administration of the school is especially great. They bear responsibility for the stability of school life and therefore, of course, are cautious with respect to innovations. However, given the diversity of conditions under which schools operate, the formal use of instructions can give rise to absurdities. The enterprising implementation of instructions is a condition of success of the practical activity of each school. Agreement in the main, fundamental thing and diversity in the implementation of general principles are necessary. An exception should be made while standard documents remain in force for those who are capable of taking part in the dissemination of an innovation. Progressive innovations need the enlistment of supporters and development, for which quite a long time is required. Support should be given to a new experiment until it becomes widespread and ceases to need protection.

The development of the initiative of millions of teachers, active support of everything progressive and the study of practical experience--this is what governs the success of the education of students and the raising of

the educational system to the level of the tasks which our party has set for the Soviet school.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 goda" /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979/, Moscow, 1979, p 14.

2. Ibid., p 8.

3. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 77.

4. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 22 January 1980.

5. G. A. Aliyev, "The Formation of an Active Position in Life: The Experience and Urgent Problems of Moral Education," "Aktivnaya zhiznennaya pozitsiya bortsov za kommunizm" /The Active Position in Life of the Champions of Communism/, Moscow, 1979, p 35.

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THE RAYON COMMITTEE AND THE PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 138-144

/Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Vladimir Aleksandrovich Protopopov, first secretary of the Leninskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU of Moscow/

/Text/ The prevention of delinquency among juveniles is one of the main conditions of the successful fulfillment of the program requirements of the party on eliminating crime in the country. The decrees of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" and "On the Improvement of the Work on Maintaining Law and Order and the Stepping Up of the Campaign Against Offenses," in which the need for a comprehensive approach to the matter of education and to the combatting of all kinds of antisocial displays, especially crime, are discussed frankly and the leading directions of the improvement of preventive educational work with adolescents are indicated, are also aimed at this.

The organization of a prevention complex on the territory of the rayon should be considered a promising direction of the implementation of such a comprehensive approach to the prevention of juvenile delinquency. This problem is especially urgent for large cities, since the scientific and technical revolution and urbanization, while opening up to our society new prospects in the area of cultural and educational activity, at the same time "can also have adverse influences on the psychology and morals of people." "Enormous daily efforts, which are based on a thorough knowledge of the essence and consequences of the objective changes taking place, on the steady improvement of the system of educational work and the assurance of its maximum conformity with the needs of the times are necessary"[1] in order to neutralize this possibility.

Under the conditions of a large city the prevention of immorality and offenses is thus becoming one of the most important aspects of the educational process. The Moscow City Committee of the CPSU in conformity with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Improvement of the Work on Maintaining Law and Order and the Stepping Up of the Campaign Against Offenses" set for each rayon specific tasks on the development of ideological and educational work in them. Here attention was drawn to the fact that

each of the city rayons has a developed system of institutions, which makes it possible to optimize both the educational process as a whole and preventive activity. The coordination of this activity and the consolidation of the efforts of the production collectives, party, soviet and public organizations of the rayon constitutes the real basis of the comprehensive approach to the prevention of negative social phenomena among juveniles.

From the point of view of the theory of social management[2] the successful operation of such a complex meets the present demands of the changeover from departmental to interdepartmental functional systems.

A large number of questions, which are connected with the activity of the rayon committee of the CPSU, the executive committee of the rayon soviet of people's deputies and law enforcement agencies on the organization of preventive work, with the coordination and solution of the tasks facing other departments and so on, arise here. Finally, the organization of the prevention complex on the territory of a rayon of a large city promotes the simultaneous implementation of mass social (on the scale of the rayon, the microrayon, the housing operation office and the enterprise) and individual preventive measures.

It is obvious that the organization of new forms of preventive educational work with minors should be carried out on a strictly scientific basis, with allowance made for the causes and conditions of the criminal behavior of minors, which are both of a general nature and specific to the rayon. Therefore the conducting of interdisciplinary studies of a broad range of problems, on the solution of which the improvement of preventive educational work depends, should be regarded as the primary task on the path of the creation of a system of the prevention of juvenile delinquency in the rayon. In turn the results of these studies and the effectiveness of the recommendations based on them should be checked by means of a social experiment.

In all 58 major scientific institutions (the total number of whose staff members exceeds 22,000) are concentrated on the territory of Leninskiy Rayon of the capital, among them are Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the First and Second Moscow Medical Institutes, Moscow Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin and others. The staff members of these institutions are studying the problems of education and the protection of the health of children and adolescents. Many of these problems are directly connected with the activity of law enforcement agencies, which made it possible to involve in the organization of the experiment a large group of highly skilled specialists, as well as student members of student scientific societies.

On the other hand, Leninskiy Rayon in many respects is typical of Moscow, since it has a comparatively constant demographic composition and a high population density, the main types of enterprises and institutions of the capital are represented in it and so on.

The essence of the social experiment conducted here in the area of preventive educational work with minors consists in the following: the cooperation of three main subdivisions, the functions of which have an immediate preventive nature--the rayon department of public education (the prevention of educational neglect and lack of progress), the rayon administration of internal affairs (the prevention of offenses) and the rayon health department (the prevention of offenses connected with mental deviations)--and the public, which engages in preventive educational work at the place of residence, was organized on the territory of the rayon.

A simultaneous and parallel study of criminological, pedagogical, psychological and hygiene problems was organized for the purpose of the information support of the experiment. Since it required the enlistment of a large number of highly skilled specialists from different institutions, and its results should affect the interests of various departments, the rayon committee of the CPSU assumed complete supervision of the research work and the social management experiment itself.

At the first stage of the study, the results of which it was planned to use for the elaboration of specific recommendations, a group of questions concerning the organization of individual preventive work was studied: the identification among children and adolescents of the socially misfortunate, the evaluation of the nature, causes and degree of misfortune, the determination of the steps necessary to prevent antisocial behavior. The elaborated measures include the medical-educational study of school children and the medical-psychological counseling of "difficult" children and adolescents. Of course, all this is in strict observance of the requirements of socialist legality.

Subsequent studies, which were conducted by workers of the Scientific Center (NTsIPU /Scientific Center of the Institute of Management Problems/) of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs jointly with staff members of the First Moscow Medical Institute imeni I. M. Sechenov, confirmed the assumption that medical and medical-educational measures with respect to children and adolescents, whose deviant behavior is an expression of the disturbance of their mental sphere, play an important role in the prevention of the antisocial behavior of minors. These studies showed the adequate effectiveness of the elaborated methods for taking into account the data on the conditions of the individual development of children and the state of their mental sphere and on personality traits and traits of social behavior. At the same time the implementation of the plans of the study led to the detection of certain shortcomings in the educational and psychological training of the workers of the inspectorates for juvenile affairs, as well as cases of the poor cooperation of the rayon administration of internal affairs, the rayon department of public education and the rayon health department with the public and with each other in implementing preventive measures and of inadequately active work with misfortunate adolescents at the place of residence.

The data obtained at the first stage of the studies gave grounds for the conclusion that the establishment of a functional organ of comprehensive prevent measures on the territory of the rayon is necessary. The corresponding proposal was drawn up at the NTsIPU of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. A methods office of individual preventive measures, of which the scientific elaboration of the principles of the cooperation of the organs of internal affairs, public education and health with the public became the main task, was originally set up. The methods office operated as a public service and, as practice showed, did not have adequate opportunities for identifying misfortunate children and adolescents and for evaluating the nature, causes and degree of this misfortune. However, it was able to develop organizational forms of the comprehensive preventive measures, which enabled the rayon committee of the CPSU to approve the initiative of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs--to discuss the experience gained by the rayon at a round table at the editorial office of the journal SOVETSKAYA MILITSIYA.[3]

As the work of the methods office developed it became clearer and clearer that the main difficulties in the organization of the preventive educational complex consist in the implementation of steps of individual preventive pressure on children and adolescents. This was connected to a great extent with the fact that the methods office did not have the necessary legal status.

The recommendations elaborated at the NTsIPU of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs on the creation of a functional structure for solving the problems of comprehensive preventive measures were examined and approved by the bureau of the rayon committee of the CPSU. In August 1979 an applied science laboratory of comprehensive preventive measures was set up in the Commission on Juvenile Affairs of Leninskiy Rayon and the Statute on the Applied Science Laboratory was approved.[4]

According to the statute, the applied science laboratory operates as a public service, as a working organ of the Commission on Juvenile Affairs of the Executive Committee of the Leninskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies. The staff of the laboratory is made up of research associates and graduate students of the scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions located on the territory of the rayon. The functional duties of the workers of the laboratory conform to the plans of scientific research work of the institutions, of which they are staff members.

Thus, the competence of the activity of the laboratory (being a working organ, it prepares materials for the Commission on Juvenile Affairs and operates under its supervision), as well as the unity of its scientific and practical functions were envisaged from the very start. For the purpose of determining and adjusting the main directions of the activity of the applied science laboratory it was included in the structure of the Scientific Advisory Council for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency attached to the Commission on Socialist Legality and the Maintenance of Public Order of the Executive Committee of the Rayon Soviet.[5]

Questions of the comprehensive prevention of the antisocial behavior of minors and of the introduction of the results of scientific research developments in practice, as well as the generalization of advanced know-how in this field and the elaboration of recommendations on its dissemination were the main directions of the scientific research activity of the laboratory.

The sphere of duties of the applied science laboratory include:

the gathering, storage and submission to the Commission on Juvenile Affairs of information of a medical-educational and other nature on children and adolescents, who live on the territory of Leninskiy Rayon, are characterized by deviations in behavior or are being raised under unfavorable conditions;

the analysis of this information with allowance made for the plans of the socio-economic development of the rayon and the elaboration of programs and the tactics of individual and general educational, health-improvement and other measures for the purpose of preventing antisocial displays in the behavior of minors;

the elaboration of proposals on the coordination of the practical activity of rayon organizations and institutions, production collectives and the public in the implementation of the specific measures ensuing from the scientific research conducted by the laboratory;

the elaboration of proposals on the coordination of the scientific research activity of the organizations and institutions of the rayon and the utilization of the achievements of science for the purposes of improving the organizational forms of the comprehensive prevention of the antisocial behavior of minors;

the organization and implementation of measures on increasing the level of knowledge of the workers of rayon organizations, as well as the representatives of the public of the rayon, who are directly involved in work with minors, in questions of psychology, pedagogy and social hygiene.

The decision of the Executive Committee of the Leninskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies in fact moves the experiment from the first, preliminary stage to the stage of the new "technology"[6] proper of social management in the area of preventive educational work with adolescents.

The experience gained during the operation of the applied science laboratory--both the methodological and the organizational-administrative experience--makes it possible to make some generalizations.

The structure of the applied science laboratory, which reflects the specific nature of the rayon, is a complex of independently operating groups of scientific staff members of a number of scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions. Taking into account the primarily preventive educational direction of the activity of the laboratory, staff members

of the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin, the Scientific Research Institute of Defectology of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the First Moscow Medical Institute imeni I. M. Sechenov were recruited. A group of staff members of the NTsIPU of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is performing the role of coordinator. While fulfilling the "assignments" of the coordinating group, the staff members of scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions at the same time are performing research in accordance with the plans of scientific research work of their institutions. The solution of the scientific research tasks facing the laboratory is being carried out on a contractual basis, jointly with the collective of staff members of the Law Faculty of Moscow State University, the First Moscow Medical Institute (the Chair of Psychiatry, the Central Scientific Research Laboratory) and the Second Moscow Medical Institute.

The methods activity of the laboratory is being carried out in contact with the Scientific Advisory Council attached to the Commission on Socialist Legality and the Maintenance of Public Order of the Executive Committee of the Rayon Soviet.

As was already noted, groups of students of the higher educational institutions located on the territory of the rayon also belong to the staff of the laboratory. Along with giving practical assistance to the laboratory the student circle members are conducting independent studies on a number of themes.

So far the following main forms of activity of the laboratory have been established:

1. The identification and evaluation of the nature, causes and degree of misfortune among children and adolescents, including medical-educational examinations of the students of the secondary schools of the rayon, medical-psychological counseling of "difficult" children and adolescents, psychiatric counseling of juvenile offenders on the orders of the Commission and Inspectorate for Juvenile Affairs, participation in annual routine examinations. A multiple-skill brigade of specialists, including an educator, a psychiatric physician and a psychologist, was set up in the laboratory to carry out medical-psychological counseling. The examination of "difficult" children and adolescents at schools is performed on the orders of the board and teachers. The results of the medical-psychological counseling serve as the basis for judging the nature, causes and degree of misfortune of a specific student.

2. Comprehensive prevention. Of course, the applied science laboratory does not use all the possible preventive measures: the emphasis is placed on measures of individual influence, which at this stage is valid. Among them are: individual patronage work, the organization of the sports and vocational guidance of children and adolescents, the organization of the out-patient and inpatient treatment of minors having mental disorders.

3. Scientific research work. This form of activity is made up of the further study of individual personality factors of the antisocial behavior of minors and the improvement of the organizational structure of the laboratory. Let us note that the scientific research problems being solved by the laboratory at this time, and especially those which it has to solve, go far beyond the immediate departmental interests of the coperformer institutions. On the one hand, they are long-range studies in the area of the communist education of the rising generation and, on the other, applied scientific research developments, the results of which are introduced in practice without delay.

4. Scientific methods activity. The staff members of the laboratory give lectures, conduct seminars and classes with those who deal directly with minors. Moreover, educational work is conducted with parents and the elaboration of methods materials on problems of comprehensive prevention is carried out. This section of the work of the laboratory is coordinated by the Scientific Advisory Council.

The volume of work, which was performed by the applied science laboratory, is very significant. More than 1,000 students of the secondary schools of the rayon were examined, more than 150 underwent clinical examination (and 119 underwent in-depth examination) and 163 underwent medical-psychological counseling. Individual sponsors from among the student members of the Marakenkovo detachment of Moscow State Pedagogical Institute were assigned to 21 misfortunate adolescents among those who underwent one form of counseling or another. The sponsors carry out their work under the observation and supervision of a group of staff members of Moscow State Pedagogical Institute.

Such measures previously were not use on such a large scale. Psychological health measures hold an important place in the work of the laboratory. Thus, psychiatric counseling (on the orders of the Commission and Inspectorate for Juvenile Affairs, on the request of parents) makes it possible, in the presence of the appropriate medical evidence and in strict conformity with the requirements of socialist legality, to sharply speed up the solution of the question of the need for and type of medical help to children and adolescents, whose deviant behavior to some extent is connected with disturbances of the neuropsychological sphere.

At present the laboratory is faced with the task of sharply increasing the pedagogical orientation of its activity. It is a matter of the organization of extrascholastic educational work, work with families, as well as preventive educational work at the place of residence. Among such measures it is possible to mention the organization at housing operation offices of clubs for adolescents. In the rayon there are sports sections and various circles, the housing operation offices have staff positions of educator-organizers. The clubs should combine and enrich all this activity of the public at the place of residence, which for the present is disconnected and poorly coordinated, and increase the responsibility of the adolescents themselves for the state of affairs and law and order in the rayon. The

Scientific Advisory Council, the applied science laboratory, the corresponding subdivisions of Moscow State University, Moscow State Pedagogical Institute, the Scientific Research Institute of General Problems of Education of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the large production collectives of the rayon, cultural and sports institutions need to think about how best to do this.

Thus, our experience shows the promise of the organization on the territory of the rayon of a preventive educational complex, within the structure of which individual and social (microsocial) forms of work with adolescents have been united.

The special analysis of all the results of the experiment is not a part of the goals of this report. This will be possible only after the completion of the present, final stage of the work being performed--the stage of the improvement of the methods and organizational forms of the comprehensive prevention of juvenile delinquency on the territory of the rayon. It must be said that not everything went smoothly during the preparation of the experiment. And now, when the main thing, it would seem, has been done, much has to be reorganized.

The conducting of the experiment faced the rayon committee of the CPSU, the rayon soviet executive committee and rayon organizations with various problems, the solution of which affects or may affect in the future the improvement of the social climate in the rayon.

First, the rayon committee and the rayon soviet executive committee once again analyzed the entire system of social management of the rayon. This analysis showed both the positive and the weak aspects of our activity. The improvement of the system required the purposeful efforts of all the performing organizations, which were coordinated from a single center, and the increase of their responsibility for the results of the work.

Second, the poor material backing of educational measures at the place of residence, the unsuitability or lack of facilities for conducting circle or other work were revealed during the experiment. It is possible to solve this problem only with the assistance of the enterprises and organizations, which sponsor housing operation offices and microrayons. Other centralized meaures are also required. For example, when planning new housing development it is necessary to incorporate in each apartment house and microrayon specially equipped facilities and grounds for the performance of mass cultural, educational and sports work.

Third, it is necessary to increase the attention toward the training and selection of the personnel who work with children. Frequently the positions of educators at housing operation offices are held by people who do not have special training and are not capable of properly organizing the matter. Pedagogical higher educational institutions could provide a specialization in this specialty to some of their graduates. There are also shortcomings in the training of specialists for the inspectorates for juvenile affairs,

where the workers have a legal education, but are poorly training in pedagogy and psychology and cannot give qualified advice to parents and sponsors who deal with "difficult" adolescents.

Consequently, the preventive educational work at the level of the rayon should be based on the improvement of the conditions for the education of adolescents on the scale of the city and individual sectors of the national economy.

FOOTNOTES

1. A. G. Kharchev, V. G. Alekseyeva, "Obraz zhizni, moral', vospitaniye" /The Way of Life, Morals, Education/, Moscow, 1977, p 37.

2. See M. Markov, "Teoriya sotsial'nogo upravleniya" /The Theory of Social Management/, Moscow, 1978, Part 3, pp 163-288.

3. See "On a Rayon Scale (Round Table of the Journal)," SOVETSKAYA MILITSIYA, No 10, 1979, pp 12-18.

4. The author expresses gratitude to the staff members of the NTsIPU of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as to Professor N. F. Kuznetsova, who took part in the discussion of the draft of the Statute on the Applied Science Laboratory.

5. This organ, which also operates as a public service, unites the activity of the Scientific Research Institute of the OPV of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the Central Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Procuracy and the Law Faculty of Moscow State University in the area of the protection of the rights of minors and the maintenance of public order on the territory of the rayon.

6. See M. Markov, "Teoriya sotsial'nogo upravleniya," Moscow, 1978, Part 4, pp 229-316.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF ADOLESCENT LABOR EDUCATION UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF KIROVSKAYA OBLAST

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 145-149

/Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Yuriy Grigor'yevich Karacharov, secretary of the Kirovskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU/

/Text/ The status of a person in Soviet society is determined first of all by labor, by its results. Appearing as the first vital need, the aspiration for labor is becoming a most important moral category and has a decisive influence on the formation of an active position in life of the rising generation.

At the same time there are still frequent instances when the need for labor never develops among young people, despite the efforts of elders, parents and public organizations. By devoting daily attention to children, showing constant concern about their physical and spiritual development and at the same time putting into the head of a child the idea that all the best should be given to him, are we not at times cultivating a dependent psychology? Does not one of the causes of the appearance of so-called difficult adolescents, who are capable of committing offenses, lie here?

Frequently adolescents, who have been raised in the atmosphere of parental adoration, under the conditions of total comfort, and at times the excessive supply with material wealth ("we had a hard life, let our children now enjoy life, be happy"), in families where relatives dote upon the "children," where any wishes of theirs are fulfilled, unexpectedly for the parents display wilfulness, disobedience, indifference or even open and total disrespect for labor.

Between the individual (we do not say "personality," because the personality has not yet formed) and society a conflict arises, which at times leads to very serious concequences. They underrated me, did not recognize me, did not give me--I will take it by force, I will show my worth in my own way. But the result is an offense, frequently a correctional institution.

It seems that it is necessary to organize the educational process so that children would understand from the very start that all the wealth, which

society, the state and the family give them, is the result of the labor of many people, that they receive this wealth toward their own future achievements, that society is counting on their subsequent labor.

Unfortunately, in many families, especially in the city, a large share of the adolescents during all the years of adolescence and youth do not pick up anything heavier than a bag with bread and do not take part in useful labor. But it was K. Marx who said that "in a rational social system /every child/ /in italics/ from the age of nine should become a productive worker."[1]

That is why the party attaches exceptionally great importance to the moral aspects of labor education and requires of practical workers the more skillful and systematic familiarization of children with labor, the development in them of the need to work.

There is the opinion that adolescents must first of all be accustomed to disinterested, free labor for the good and in the interests of society. Our children are not only to build communism, but also to live under communism. Of course, a communist attitude toward labor as the first vital need is an extremely important quality of an individual. The cultivation of such a quality among young citizens of the Soviet Union is a priority task.

But we cannot be oriented only toward the future and not take into account the real conditions. Distribution according to labor as the most important principle of socialism means that along with disinterested, free public labot it is impossible to underestimate the importance of labor for pay, for money. Artificial isolation, the shielding of children from material interest do not do good to the labor education of adolescents. Obviously, it is not only possible, but also necessary to involve them in paid labor.

On the basis of what has been stated, as well as taking into account the specific conditions and peculiarities of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, to which Kirovskaya Oblast belongs, the oblast committee of the CPSU, guided by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the subsequent Central Committee plena, the speeches and works of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, has developed a specific system of the labor education of school children and young people and is devoting greater attention to the moral consequences of the labor influence on adolescents.

The emphasis on familiarizing children with labor should already be made in the family. On this level some parents also need training and retraining. In Kirov exceptional importance is attached to purposeful universal pedagogical education: in all the labor collectives lectures are given and discussions on urgent pedagogical themes are conducted. Particular attention is being devoted to the enrichment of the knowledge and experience of parents in the area of the ideological, political, moral and labor education

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 16, p 197.

of children. The bureau of the city committee of the CPSU adopted a special decree. A headquarters headed by the secretary of the city party committee, which elaborates the themes, instructs educators and so on, has been set up. Similar work on the universal pedagogical education of parents has also been organized in most rural rayons of the oblast.

Taking into account that labor in far from every family has become the main objective and an effective means of education, the oblast party organization attaches particular importance to the formation of labor skills among children in the family. Lessons in labor have been introduced at the school in conformity with the syllabus. The qualitative composition of the instructors, who conduct these exercises, is gradually improving. Suffice it to say that nearly 50 percent of them now have a specialized higher or secondary education, while 5-7 years ago there were only a handful. In the past two years alone the schools of the oblast have been reinforced by 105 instructors of labor with a higher specialized education by means of graduates of the Faculty of General Technical Disciplines and Labor of Kirov Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin. Moreover, highly skilled specialists from kolkhozes and sovkhozes, construction organizations and industrial enterprises are being enlisted to teach at the school and to conduct practical polytechnical labor studies on the conditions of the combining of jobs.

Student production brigades, which have been set up at all rural secondary schools, as well as at secondary schools in some workers' settlements and cities of rayon subordination, which are directly connected with agriculture or are associated with agricultural production, have become an effective form of labor education. In all 185 student production brigades, which unite 19,800 pupils of the 7th-10th grades, which is 98.8 percent of their total number, work in the oblast.

It should be noted that the model statute on the student production brigade at the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz provides for the particaption of school children in brigades beginning with the 7th grade. The recruitment of 5th and 6th graders is allowed. But in Kirovskaya Oblast younger school children learn the simplest labor skills beginning in the 4th grade on the pilot plot at the school. In the 7th and 8th grades the pupils of eight-year schools are transferred to production links. The older pupils work in production brigades of the secondary schools. And in the performance of labor operations the age peculiarities of the children are perforce taken into account, the schedule of work and rest, which corresponds to their age, is strictly observed.

Production workshops, classrooms of agricultural mechanical engineering, rooms of animal husbandry, agronomy and others have been fitted out at rural secondary schools. In all 9,000 hectares of plowland, 269 tractors, 146 trucks and much other equipment have been attached to the student production brigades. Animal husbandry is the specialization of 70 brigades and 105 links, the rest are multiple-skill brigades and links.

In all 194 agricultural specialists and 248 teachers conduct theoretical and practical lessons and supervise the student production brigades. Universal agricultural education makes it possible to issue annually to more than 5,000 graduates along with a secondary education certificate "adult" skills certificates of a class III tractor driver-mechanic, the license of a rural machine operator and certificates of an expert of machine milking.

The experience of the student brigade of the Shurminskiy Secondary School of Orshanskiy Rayon is especially instructive. The labor interrelations between this brigade and the Shurminskiy Sovkhoz are arranged on a contractual basis. The contract stipulates that the sovkhoz attaches to the student brigade a permanent plot with an area of 164 hectares. More than 40 units of equipment have been placed at the disposal of the children.

More than 200 7th-10th graders work in the Shurminskiy student production brigade, which works all year. In the winter the school children study tractors and agricultural machinery, the organization and technology of tractor operations, the principles of agronomy, elaborate the themes and methods of research work, draw up flow sheets for the cultivation of agricultural crops and so on. In the school agrochemical laboratory they study the analysis of soils, compile collation maps of the fields and prepare the seed for sowing.

In the brigade there is the link system of the organization and evaluation of labor and pay, the members of the brigade participate in socialist competition. During summer work political information work and discussions on political and moral themes are conducted regularly, reasonable and interesting recreation is organized, amateur artistic work of students is developed extensively, sports matches, the taking of standard tests of Ready for Labor and the Defense of the USSR and so on are organized.

The brigade annually achieves high results in labor. In 1978 the students produced agricultural products worth 197,600 rubles with high indicators of the yield of agricultural crops. In 1978 963 rubles of agricultural products were produced per brigade member.

The brigade members not only work, but also acquire the fundamentals of economic knowledge: from what and how the production cost is formed, how work quality influences the yield, what profit the introduction of new strains of cereals, potatoes and so forth yields.

The student production brigade of the Shurminskiy Secondary School performs a considerable amount of work and produces an income equal to the income of an entire division of the sovkhoz. This is not a game of labor, but real serious labor, weighty assistance to the sovkhoz.

The production brigade is the nucleus of the schoolwide student collective, it cements and directs its activity and has a beneficial influence on the moral development of the students. It is important that labor in the brigade is not unpaid patronage assistance to the sovkhoz, as is still often

encountered in practice, but is paid for in full in strict conformity with legislation. The output norms for brigade members as adolescents are set subject to the nature of labor at 20-40 percent below those for adults.

The sovkhoz by way of an incentive annually credits to the brigade 50 percent of the profits obtained from its sold products and pays each brigade member a supplementary wage for obtaining an above-plan yield, just as to any adult worker of the sovkhoz. The supplementary wage for each earned ruble annually is from 70 kopecks to 1 ruble 80 kopecks, which interests the students materially. Some of the most diligent school children in the student production brigade earn during the year 300-400 and even 500 rubles each.

The total assets, which are received in the form of revenue from the plot and fruit orchard at the school, as well as the one-time bonuses and grants of the sovkhoz are kept in a special account of the brigade and are spent on the acquisition of agricultural machinery and implements, the organization of camps of labor and rest, the conducting of excursions and so on.

It is also expedient to note that the Shurminskiy Sovkhoz, the secondary school and the rural soviet of people's deputies are performing much joint work on the attachment of young people to the countryside. A public council for the vocational guidance and labor education of young people, which organizes solemn celebrations in honor of labor dynasties of grain growers, open classes, discussions, talks at the school of the chief specialists of the sovkhoz, joint thematic evenings of the Komsomol members of the sovkhoz and the upper graders, debates on agricultural occupations and much more, has been organized and is in operation here.

Active participation in the activity of the student production brigade also yields good results in the vocational orientation of adolescents toward agricultural occupations. In 1978 of the 52 10th graders who graduated from the Shurminskiy Secondary School, 35 remained to work at the sovkhoz or went to study at agricultural educational institutions.

The joint efforts of the school and the sovkhoz, considered educational and training work and the good organization of labor in the student production brigade are promoting the more successful fulfillment of the demand of the party Central Committee, which in the decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" calls for the inculcation in young people of a liking for agricultural occupations and for the development and support of the patriotic aspiration to work at kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

A mighty stimulus of the improvement of the work with rural young people, the strengthening of their labor education, moral training and vocational orientation toward agricultural labor and the attachment of the rising generation to the countryside is the constant attention of the party and the government to this most important problem. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in a message of greeting to the members of the meeting of graduates of secondary schools of Kostromskaya Oblast, who expressed the desire to work in agricultural production, expressed the hope that the initiative of the Kostromskaya Oblast workers "would find the most extensive support among Komsomol members, all the boys and girls of the country." The fervent appeal and paternal farewell speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev inspired the young people, evoked a new surge of force and energy and found complete understanding and a lively response in the minds and hearts of the rural young people. Whereas, for example, before this only 20 percent of the graduates of the rural secondary schools of Kirovskaya Oblast remained to work at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes or went to study at agricultural educational institutions, now more than 50 percent of those graduating from the secondary school are linking their fate with agriculture.

An oblast commission chaired by the secretary of the oblast committee of the CPSU has been set up for the effective supervision of the attachment of the regular labor force and specialists at kolkhozes, sovkhozes and agricultural enterprises, at institutions and organizations of the nonproductive sphere in the countryside from among the graduates of general educational schools and vocational and technical schools, servicemen discharged from the Soviet Army, young workers, employees of enterprises and organizations of cities and workers' settlements and for the dissemination of advanced know-how in this matter. In conformity with the long-range plan the commission is drawing up and sending out to the localities practical recommendations, is organizing oblast and rayon rallies of students who express the desire to devote themselves to agricultural labor, is holding celebrations in honor of grain-growing dynasties, is organizing the tutorship of young rural workers, is conducting sociological studies of this problem and so on.

In their overwhelming majority our young people are embarking on life with the fervent and sincere desire to work for the good of society. However, it has to be stated that with the first steps young people at times are faced with various types of difficulties, while the contradictions between what is desired and what is due, what is required and what is possible at times arouse an inadequate reaction among some rural and working young people. Not all boys and girls approach the problem of choosing an occupation from a civic, social standpoint, not all of them understand that labor in any of its manifestations is a social necessity, while the constant extension of knowledge and the increase of skills are the duty of a young person. Precisely the labor of adolescents, which is within their ability, but is necessarily genuine labor, and in any form of it, helps to overcome this contradiction, which is connected with the embarking of new generations on an independent life. And we must not create obstacles to the legal desire of a school child to earn for himself some amount of money--the earned ruble never was an enemy of our morals. The harm from money begins when it is obtained undeservedly or, what is even worse, in a dishonest way. In addition to labor skills at times the most unexpected, not very significant things, it would seem, influence the attachment of young people to rural areas, their adaptation, "adaptability" in agriculture. For example, during

a sociological study conducted at a number of farms of Sovetskiy Rayon, 10 percent of the migrants to the question "Why are you leaving the farm?" answered: "Due to the rudeness of the managers."

The skillful combination and coordination of the three spheres of education--ideological-political, labor and moral--with allowance made for all the objective and subjective factors invariably yield positive results and promote the formation of an active position in life. The party Central Committee recalls this once again in its decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," in which, in particular, it is noted that "enterprising, creative participation in labor and public life is an indicator of the ideological and civic mature of a person" and the utmost improvement of the education of young people, the rising generation, should be a subject of the constant concern and attention of all party organizations.[2]

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2. See "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty" /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work/, Moscow, 1979, pp 8, 12.

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CSO: 1806

RESEARCH RESULTS ARE DISCUSSED IN THE COLLECTIVE (EXPERIENCE OF THE PRACTICAL USE OF SOCIOLOGICAL DATA)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 150-152

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Anatoliy Vladimirovich Myalovitskiy, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Ivanovich Patrushev, director of the sociological laboratory of the Higher Party School attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine/

/Text/ Sociological research is being used more and more often in the activity of party committees, the methods of gathering and analyzing information are becoming more diverse and improved. At the same time the question of the practical adoption of the suggestions and recommendations of sociologists is one of the complicated and poorly studied questions. Of course, it would be an oversimplification to reduce the effectiveness and quality of a sociological study to the immediate usefulness of the results, but there are frequent instances when instead of practical and specific recommendations good wishes are expressed.[1]

In this connection it is expedient to discuss the question, what is it necessary to do for the more effective use of the results of applied research? In our opinion, the experience of elaborating and implementing the recommendations of such a study at the Cherkassy Silk Combine is of practical interest.[2] We proceeded from the fact that the formation of the public opinion of the collective about the social problems of the enterprise is the most important prerequisite of their effective use.

The program of our study presumed the analysis of:

the attitude of the workers of the enterprise toward their labor, toward the high quality and timely solution of the raised problems;

the attitude of the members of the collective toward socialist property;

the participation of the workers in production management and the sociopolitical life of the collective;

the vocational and economic training of workers, particularly their ability to substantiate socialist obligations and the personal plan, to calculate the labor productivity, to analyze the use of working time and the workload of their equipment;

the educational means of the brigades, sections, shops and the collective of the enterprise as a whole in the formation and development of the sense of being the master.

As is known, the unity of personal and public interests is one of the basic traits of the sense of being the master of socialist production. "Our socialist system is such," L. I. Brezhnev said, "that for the good, truly leading worker it is not enough to be simply diligent and disciplined, an active, vital interest and concern about the common cause, the aspiration for this matter to proceed better and better in the brigade, in the shop and at the enterprise as a whole are also required of him."[3]

The data obtained by us do not differ significantly from the results of the studies conducted at other enterprises,[4] therefore let us dwell on only a few of them.

By interviewing the foremen and assistant foremen it was ascertained that the number of workers, who treat their duties conscientiously and with interest, is 78.3 percent, satisfactorily--20.2 percent, poorly--1.5 percent. It is important to note that a large share of the workers explain their aspiration to work highly productively by such reasons as the sense of pride in their collective, the opportunity to display their abilities and interests in labor activity, the recognition of the importance of their labor to the enterprise, and in the end to society as a whole. In all 68.8 percent of the workers of the combine regularly save materials, raw materials, fuel and electric power, 25 percent do this from time to time and only 6.2 percent are indifferent to questions of economy.

The manifestations of the sense of being the master in the sphere of sociopolitical life are especially diverse. The results of our study showed that 30.4 percent of those surveyed take part in permanent production conferences, the society of rationalizers and inventors, the scientific and technical society, councils of innovators and tutors, women's councils, the public personnel divisions, the bureaus of norm setting and economic analysis, the Comrade Courts and other organizations. The following data also attest to the great social activeness of the workers of the combine and their interest in production affairs: 87.1 percent of the respondents took part in workers' meetings, more than 43 percent of them made speeches, while 26.9 percent made specific proposals concerning important problems of the life of the collective.

The study of the degree of information about production affairs revealed that the majority of workers show considerable interest in how production operations are carried out in the shift, the shop and at the enterprise as a whole. Of those surveyed 82 percent believe that they receive complete enough information about this.

The administration and the party aktiv of the combine were acquainted with the report on the conducted study, an issue of the widely circulated newspaper of the enterprise, a number of broadcasts of the plant radio and workers' meetings, which aroused great interest among the members of the collective, were devoted to its results. According to general opinion, the study helped to reveal the existing difficulties and shortcomings.

One of the questions, over which debates developed at the meetings, is the intensification of the campaign for economy and thrift. The workers cited cases of mismanagement, the unsatisfactory condition of equipment, violations of the normal rhythm of weaving work. The workers who treat the means of labor carelessly were sharply criticized. The speakers at the meetings made specific suggestions on the elimination of the shortcomings, an effective means of the control of which, in the opinion of the workers, is the introduction in all the shops of joint monitoring at the workplaces.

The problems of improving the use of working time and tightening up labor discipline were also at the center of attention.

At the meetings it was noted that the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations of the combine had not yet achieved the extensive introduction of advanced know-how as a mighty reserve for increasing production efficiency and work quality. The fact that according to the data of the sociological study only 20 percent of the workers of the combine work for the present without particular activeness, while 1.5 percent even work poorly, aroused particular anxiety. In the unanimous opinion of the discussion participants, when tallying the results of the socialist competition, along with production indicators there should also be taken into account such criteria as the interest of the worker in the successful activity of the enterprise, his initiative, creative searching, the aspiration to attain the level of the requirements of scientific and technical progress and so on.

Unexpected to the board of directors and the executives of the public organizations of the combine was the conclusion about their insufficiently attentive attitude toward the opinion of the collective: only 17 percent of total number of respondents noted that the administration of the enterprise heeds the suggestions and critical remarks of the rank and file workers. And this is in spite of the fact that upon completion of the work of all meetings, sittings and conferences measures on the implementation of critical remarks and suggestions are elaborated, and, it would seem, strict monitoring of the progress and deadlines of their fulfillment is established. However, during the discussion of the results of the sociological study serious shortcomings were revealed in the drawing up of the documents of the meetings: not all the critical remarks and suggestions were recorded in the minutes and submitted to the higher management levels, while only a small group of activists, as a rule, was informed about their implementation. Thus, in the collective the system of constant contact both "upwards" and "downwards" was upset, which was conducive to the formation of the opinion that the administration does not always react to the remarks of the workers.

On the whole the discussion of the results of the sociological study at the meeting made it possible to make some assumptions and conclusions more precise, to understand in more detail the processes taking place in the collective and to establish the opinion of the rank and file workers. A joint commission of sociologists, the party committee, the trade union committee and the administration of the combine drew up specific measures, with allowance made for the critical remarks expressed during the questionnaire survey and the workers' meetings. Thus, the purposeful combination of the efforts of the party committee, the administration and sociologists made it possible to ensure the closer connection of scientific research with practice and to increase the level of planning of the social development of the collective of the combine, which numbers in the many thousands. The board of directors, the chiefs of the works and shops, the foremen and their assistants were able to compare the results of the conducted sociological study with the activity of their own subdivisions, to look at it in a new way. The obtained information also enriched with a new content the activity of the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations of the combine, since it made it possible to imagine more clearly the shortcomings and oversights in work.

In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," it is emphasized that the thorough and comprehensive study of public opinion and sociological studies are one of the most necessary conditions of the assurance of the unity of the ideological, political, labor and moral education of all groups of the population.[5] The study made at the Cherkassy Silk Combine and the experience of discussing and introducing its results completely confirmed this conclusion.

FOOTNOTES

1. According to the data of V. L. Osovskiy, in 90 percent of the reports analyzed by him on the conducted studies the recommendations were of the type: "must improve," "intensify" and so forth (V. M. Makarov, "Sociological Research in Party Work," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1978, p 108).

2. The progam of the study was drawn up by V. I. Patrushev and M. N. Prikhod'ko. The information was gathered in March-May 1979. The sample population consisted of 10-11 percent of the total number of workers. The approximately proportionate correspondence of the sociodemographic composition of the population being studied (with respect to sex, age, education, skills and party membership) to the composition of the collective as a whole was ensured here.

3. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" /By the Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles/, Vol 6, p 11.

4. See Yu. Volkov, Yu. Chervyakov, "Trudovoy kollektiv--shkola vospitaniya khozyayev proizvodstva" /The Labor Collective Is the School of Education

of the Masters of Production/, Moscow, 1977; S. P. Olenin, "The Formation of the Consciousness and Sense of Being the Master of Socialist Production Is an Urgent Problem of Ideological Educational Work in the Labor Collective," "Voprosy teorii i metodov ideologicheskoy raboty" /Questions of the Theory and Methods of Ideological Work/, No 9, Moscow, 1978, pp 204-218 and others.

5. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty" /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work/, Moscow, 1979, p 12.

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FACTS, COMMENTARY, NOTES (FROM THE SOCIOLOGIST'S DESK)

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE OLYMPIAD IN MOSCOW

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 153-155

/Article by V. S. Korobeynikov, V. D. Voynova and G. D. Tokarovskiy/

/Text/ According to tradition public opinion polls are one of the components of the preparation for the Olympic Games. Usually they are conducted either among the population of the city, to which the honor of being the organizer of the games has been granted, or (as was the case in Japan in 1964) on a national scale.

Among the tasks of our study[1] we should first of all mention the following: the determination of the level and direction of the interest of the population in various aspects of the preparation and holding of the 1980 Olympics, the evaluation of its importance, the attitude toward the future meeting with representatives of various countries, the level of the proposed use of the media during the games.

The study of the attitude of Muscovites toward various aspects of the 1980 Olympics took place in two stages. The analysis of the public opinion of production and academic collectives in two rayons of the capital--Leninskiy and Oktyabr'skiy--was made at the first stage. The sectors of the national economy and the higher educational institutions of Moscow are widely represented in these rayons.

At the second (basic) stage of the study the attitude of the entire population of the capital toward the forthcoming Olympic Games was studied, therefore the poll was conducted at the place of residence. As a result of the stratification of the population by individual types of rayons of Moscow eight of them were represented in the sample: Babushkinskiy, Zheleznodorozhnyy, Kiyevskiy, Oktyabr'skiy, Proletarskiy, Sverdlovskiy, Sevastopol'skiy and Sokol'nicheskiy.[2]

First of all the fact that during the six months, which separate the stages of the study, the interest of Muscovites in questions connected with the preparation for and holding of the Olympics increased considerably, attracts attention. Thus, the proportion of those surveyed, who noted that these

questions did not interest them, decreased from 9 to 4 percent. An increase of interest on the average by 5-10 percent in the training of the combined teams of the USSR for participation in the games and in the organization of the distribution of tickets for the matches was also established.

During the study the residents of Moscow demonstrated a thorough understanding of the political importance of the forthcoming event. Dominant among the other appraisals of the 1980 Olympics is the opinion that it will promote the strengthening of peace, cooperation and mutual understanding among nations. This was indicated by 9 out of 10 respondents. The same importance is attached to the opportunity to acquaint foreign visitors with the Soviet way of life, the history of our country and the sights of the capital.

Muscovites are actively interested in the progress of the construction of the sports facilities (89 percent), the training of the combined teams of the country (86 percent) and foreign athletes (70 percent) for the upcoming matches, questions of the technical supply of the Olympics (more than 60 percent) and the program of cultural measures being planned for the period of the games (90 percent).

The residents of our capital want to know how Moscow will receive the foreign guests of the Olympics. In this connection particular attention is being devoted to information on the civic improvement of the city, the development of services, transportation and communications (from 85 to 92 percent). In all 86 percent of the Muscovites consider it necessary to increase the amount of materials on Olympic themes in the materials of the press, the broadcasts of radio and television. The media have at present the means both for increasing the level of information of the population on the problems in question and for influencing public opinion. In particular, the data of our study attest that only 1.8 percent of the Muscovites do not read newspapers, 2.0 percent do not listen to the radio and only 0.5 percent do not watch television broadcasts.

The residents of the capital attach great importance to contact with the representatives of other countries during the games. Thus, 8 out of 10 respondents would like to meet with foreign athletes and guests, which is connected first of all with the desire to find out something new about the life of one country or another, the customs, morals and traits of the national character of its people.

One of the peculiarities of the Moscow Olympics is that not only the individual organizations, which are directly involved in the preparation for it, but also the residents of the city are preparing for it. The results of the study show that in practice one Muscovite in eight is now participating or will participate in one form or another in the work connected with the holding of the main sports event, the reception and service of its guests.

Whereas, as was already noted, 4 percent of the respondents are not interested in the progress of the preparation for the Olympics, only 1 percent are not interested in the events of the sports meets themselves. At present

about 60 percent of those surveyed want to know how the distribution of tickets among those who want to get into the stadiums will be organized. The majority of those surveyed, while believing that there will obviously not be enough tickets for all sports fans, place great hopes in the efficient and coordinated work of the media. Practically half of those surveyed intend to keep track of the events of the Olympics only by television, newspapers and radio. About 40 percent of the Muscovites plan, moreover, to be personally present at some sports matches, cultural measures and meetings.

We were interested in whether Muscovites were discussing questions connected with the preparation for and holding of the Olympic Games. The poll showed that within labor and academic collectives more than 65 percent of those surveyed had discussed various aspects of this problem, while the discussions on these themes take place mainly on an informal level, through channels of interpersonal contact. More than 41 percent of the respondents stated this. However, during the period which passed since the conducting of the first stage of the study the indicated problems began to be discussed considerably more frequently in the labor collectives at party, Komsomol and trade union meetings. Thus, whereas in May 1979 26 percent of the respondents took part in such meetings, in October 34 percent did. Agitators and political information officers in their statements also began to turn somewhat more frequently to the corresponding questions; 16 percent of those surveyed at the second stage of the study noted this.

Since the study "Muscovites About the 1980 Olympics" was conducted jointly with the city organization of the Znaniye Society, during it much attention was devoted to how much information on the forthcoming Olympics the population is receiving via lecture propaganda.

At the first stage only 1 percent of those surveyed indicated that the problems connected with the preparation for and holding of the Olympics were touched upon in lectures. This result is confirmed by the statistical data of the Znaniye Society. On the recommendations of sociologists expeditious steps were taken, which were aimed at increasing the role of lecture propaganda in the discussion of Olympic themes. Results were not slow in showing. During the main study 14.5 percent of the respondents noted that they had attended lectures at which the indicated problems were examined.

The present study has demonstrated the possibility of an efficient study of public opinion, the simultaneous "output" of information on its state with respect to the forthcoming Olympic Games.

On the whole the public opinion poll "Muscovites About the 1980 Olympics" showed that the residents of the city--the organizer of the Summer Olympic Games--are acting with exceptional goodwill and interest toward this major international sports forum.

FOOTNOTES

1. The study was conducted by the Section of Public Opinion of the Ideological Commission of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU with the participation of the Moscow city organization of the Znaniye Society.

2. In accordance with the principle of random sampling 29 electoral districts (microrayons) were selected within the indicated rayons. Based on the size of the planned sample (919 people), a complete list of addresses was compiled on the basis of the lists of voters. As far as we know, under the conditions of Moscow such work was being conducted for the first time. To determine the reliability of the results the data on the sociodemographic composition of those surveyed in our sample were compared with the statistical data on the structure of the population of Moscow. Analysis showed that the sample population of those surveyed is representative for the population of the capital as a whole, while the existing differences in the proportion of some groups do not exceed 1-3 percent.

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THE CONDITIONS AND CONTENT OF LABOR AS PREREQUISITES OF THE INCREASE OF ITS EFFICIENCY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 156-158

/Article by N. K. Serov and S. S. Truyevtseva/

/Text/ The complete mechanization and automation of industrial production and the retooling of enterprises are appearing especially intensively in machine building--one of the leading sectors of the national economy. These processes have a significant influence on the improvement of the conditions and content of the labor of workers. At the same time the demands on various aspects of labor are increasing, the factors governing the attitude toward labor are changing.

The task of the survey conducted by us[1] is the study of the satisfaction of worker-machine builders with the conditions and content of labor activity, their attitude toward new forms of the organization of production and the combining of specialties.

The studies conducted previously show that given a relatively stable proportion of workers of intermediate skill a decrease of the proportion of workers of low skill with an annual coefficient of 1 and an increase of the proportion of workers of high skill with an annual coefficient of 0.7 occur.[2]

According to the results of our survey the corresponding proportion was 18 : 48 : 34. In fact 24 percent of those surveyed performed jobs not above category 2, about 48 percent--a job of categories 3 and 4, 28 percent--categories 5 and 6. The content of labor is also changing. Thus, the survey of experts (foremen, chiefs of sections and so forth) revealed that at 57 percent of the workplaces it is necessary to integrally combine physical and mental labor. The systematic updating of knowledge is constantly required at approximately one workplace in four. In the opinion of experts, it is possible to do without this at only 18 percent of the workplaces. Nearly a third of the surveyed workers are engaged in the development of inventions and rationalization, about 25 percent combine two or more occupations.

The complete mechanization of production is substantially increasing the satisfaction with labor activity. Thus, according to the results of a

study conducted by the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences,[3] the satisfaction with such aspects of labor as "the need to study what is new," "the possibility to develop one's abilities," "diversity in work" and "the possibility of creative work" increased significantly in automated sections. Dissatisfaction is connected mainly with the working conditions, the improvement of which often lags behind the demands made on them.

As the ranking of appraisals showed, the health conditions of labor (noise, dustiness, draughts and so forth), everyday conditions at the works (food, showers and so on), material and technical supply, the organization of the norm setting of labor, the condition of equipment and machinery evoke the greatest dissatisfaction among the workers.[4] The dissatisfaction with the level of wages is only in fourth place (for comparison let us note that according to the data of surveys conducted 5-10 years ago it was in first place). An increase of the level of satisfaction of the respondents with the pace and rhythm of work, the state of labor safety practices, the opportunity to improve one's skills and to place children in a nursery, kindergarten and Pioneer camp is also being established.

The improvement of the material and technical base of production is an effective means of improving the conditions and content of the labor of workers. The changeover from manual labor to the complete automation of production is being accomplished through partial automation, when the demands on the general educational and vocational training of the workers and on their skills decrease appreciably.[5] During this period at many workplaces labor becomes more uniform and monotonous, less independent, more rigid with respect to the setting of the pace and rhythm of work and leaves less room for displays of initiative and in the end loses appeal for some categories of workers (particularly for young people who have a high level of educational training).

Ways to solve the mentioned problem should be sought in the comprehensive combination of practical measures both in the area of technical and technological policy and directly at the works, in the sphere of the improvement of its conditions and the enrichment of the content of labor by means of the rational combination of occupations, the consolidation of operations, as well as the optimum organization of labor at the workplaces.

One of the important directions of the increase of labor efficiency involves the solution of the question of the possibility of broadening occupational specialization and combining occupations.

About 50 percent of the surveyed workers express the desire to have a broad specialization. The analysis shows that men up to 35 years old and city dwellers, who have a higher level of general educational and vocational training as compared with those whom a narrow specialization suits, predominate in this group.

Apparently, this should be taken into account when elaborating production technology and socio-economic measures on the improvement of the content and conditions of the labor of workers. The distribution of the responses to the question "How would you appraise the real opportunities and need for workers to combine different occupations?" also attests to this. About half of the experts among the process engineers and designers responded: "It is necessary to try to see to it that every worker would combine occupations." The opinions of immediate production supervisors attest to a more realistic appraisal: 29.4 percent of all experts and 37.5 percent of the shop chiefs selected the version of the response "The proportion of those who combine occupations should be not less than one-third." Let us note that the Scientific Research Institute of Labor of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems has elaborated approximate standards (from 9 to 15 percent of the total number of workers covered by the combining of occupations), which are differentiated for the different sectors of industry.[6] About 25 percent of the surveyed worker-machine builders indicated that they actually combine two or more occupations. The imprecision of the concept "the combination of occupations" is reflected in these discrepancies. Thus, during the survey many respondents hesitated, not knowing whether an actual change in the types of labor, which results from the demands of production and the organization of labor with allowance made for the skills of the workers, is considered the combining of occupations, or whether the fact of assigning to a worker a specific skill in a different specialty is sufficient.

This problem is of great socio-economic importance under present conditions, when the demands on the observance of financial discipline, on the planning of the number of workplaces with allowance made for the level, extent and quality of the vocational training received by workers, their inclination toward the combining of occupations, the improvement of skills and the changeover of labor are increasing.

In this connection the question of the brigade form of the organization of labor, which is an effective means of increasing its productivity and reducing the number of workers who did not fulfill the output norms, is especially important.

The study showed that in both the individual and the collective organization of labor there is a discrepancy between the actual number of workers, who were trained at vocational and technical schools or on the job, and the actual need for them. Thus, the proportion of workers, who graduated from special courses and a vocational and technical school with a secondary education, should constitute, in the opinion of experts, one-fourth of the brigade (in reality it is only 15 percent). Such workers are especially needed in multiple-skill brigades, in which at present they make up only 12 percent. On the other hand, many less workers, who have graduated from a vocational and technical school without a secondary education, are required (now the workers having such training make up 22 percent of the total composition of the brigade, while 3-6 percent is necessary).

Although the overall index of the satisfaction with labor and the specialty of the workers in multiple-skill brigades in the end is higher, the specific indices of the satisfaction with various aspects of labor are lower than among those who work individually. Thus, the index of satisfaction with material and technical supply in such brigades is five-thirteenth as high as among those who work individually, while in specialized brigades it is five-eighths as high. The indices of the satisfaction with the organization of the norm setting of labor and with the opportunity to improve skills are very low.[7]

All this attests that it is necessary henceforth to disseminate the brigade forms of the organization of labor and to utilize more completely the internal reserves of production.

FOOTNOTES

1. The survey of workers (N = 2,200) and the multistage survey of experts from among the managers of works were conducted in 1976 at machine building enterprises of Leningrad by the Sector of Social Problems of Labor of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences under the direction of O. I. Shkaratan and N. K. Serov, the methods of the survey of experts were elaborated by O. V. Guseva. At the basis of the organization of the sample is the principle of the proportionate coverage of the workers of different occupations which are typical for the machine building sector. See the description of the contingent of those surveyed: O. I. Shkaratan, O. V. Stakanova, O. V. Filippova, "Features of the Social Development of the Soviet Worker (From the Materials of a Study of Leningrad Workers of 1918-1977)," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1977, pp 37-43.

2. "Sotsial'naya struktura razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva v SSSR" /The Social Structure of the Mature Socialist Society in the USSR/, Moscow, 1976, p 48.

3. See V. V. Krevnevich, "Automation as a Condition of the Increase of the Meaningfulness of Labor and the Satisfaction With Labor," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 1, 1977, p 92.

4. Our conclusions on the whole coincide with the results of a sociological survey conducted in 1977 at a number of enterprises of different sectors of industry under the direction of V. A. Yadov. See "Man and His Work. After 15 Years," ZNANIYE--SILA, No 10, 1979.

5. See, for example, "Nauchno-tekhnicheskiy progress i ekonomika sotsializma" /Scientific and Technical Progress and the Economics of Socialism/, edited by L. M. Gatovskiy, Moscow, 1979, pp 234-236 and others. According to our data, the average category in work at machine tools with manual control is 3.89, at semi-automatic machine tools--3.35, at automatic machine tools--3.81.

6. See M. Nochevnik, L. Kutuzova, "Social Aspects of the Combining of Occupations," SOTSIALISTICHESKIY TRUD, No 12, 1978, p 116.

7. These circumstances reflect the peculiarities of the initial stage in the formation of the brigade forms of the organization of labor. In this connection the introduction of the Temporary Recommendations on the Development of the Brigade Forms of the Organization of Labor and Wages at Machine Building and Metalworking Enterprises, which were approved by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the Secretariat of the AUCCTU by a decree of 16 January 1979, seems completely valid.

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SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE MIGRATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN MOSCOW OBLAST

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 159-161

/Article by T. N. Dubina and O. V. Romashov/

/Text/ The provision of agricultural production with skilled personnel is inseparably connected with the study and regulation of migration processes and the attachment of young people to the countryside.

The identification of the factors of the migration of rural young people was the goal of the sociological study conducted by the authors of the article at kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Moscow Oblast in the spring of 1978.[1]

The study showed that mainly young people 20 to 30 years only, who have a short length of service at the farm and a low level of skills and have not yet had time to start their own family, leave the countryside.

One-fourth of those surveyed intend to move to the city and nearly as many young people have not yet made a final decision (see the table).

Young people of all ages are notable for a high level of mobility, but the greatest number of those desiring to move to the city is in the age group of 21-24 years old (28.6 percent). With an increase of age and accordingly the length of service this indicator decreases. The link between the level of labor mechanization and the potential turnover, which was established by a number of researchers, is confirmed. In all 29.2 percent of the field-crop growers and 20.7 percent of the machine operators want to move to the city, that is, the higher the level of labor mechanization is, the lower the indicators of the potential turnover are.[2]

The city attracts young people first of all by its cultural and everyday conditions (47.5 percent of the respondents indicated this); by the conditions and organization of labor (27.6 percent); the opportunity to continue one's education and to acquire a good specialty (15.5 percent); 9.4 percent of those surveyed cited other reasons. These data fully accord with the responses to the question, what does not satisfy young people in the countryside. The opinions of those surveyed were distributed here in the following manner: 45.2 percent indicated the dissatisfaction with cultural and

everyday conditions; 40.1 percent--the dissatisfaction with the conditions and organization of labor; 9.4 percent cited the influence of parents, relatives and acquaintances; 3.7 percent and 1.6 percent respectively noted that they did not like life in the countryside and cited other reasons.

Migrational Intentions Depending on Occupation, Age and Length of Service, Percent

Main characteristics	Would you like to move to the city?		
	Yes	No	Do not know
Occupation:			
machine operators	20.7	56.8	22.5
livestock breeders	24.1	53.0	22.9
field-crop growers	29.2	47.1	23.7
Age:			
up to 17 years old	19.0	43.1	37.9
18-20 years old	24.5	53.1	22.4
21-24 years old	28.6	46.0	25.4
25-28 years old	26.3	49.6	24.1
29-30 years old	23.3	52.6	24.1
31-35 years old	26.7	44.2	29.1
over 35 years old	17.6	63.6	18.8
Length of service:			
up to 1 year	26.9	47.1	26.0
1-3 years	28.1	45.4	26.5
4-5 years	23.7	51.5	24.8
6-10 years	25.6	50.5	23.9
over 10 years	21.2	60.5	18.3
Average	24.9	51.1	24.0

The analysis of the causes of migration also showed that modern rural young people aspire to increase their education and production skills. However, there is a certain contradiction between the desire to study and the opportunities for this in rural areas. The general educational level of the workers of mass agricultural occupations for the present is still low and is five to six years; although 51.5 percent of the boys and girls intend to continue their education, only about 10 percent do. At the same time, according to the data of Leningrad and Sverdlovsk sociologists, among working young people of the city approximately one-third are studying.[3]

The data obtained at specialized agricultural enterprises--the Glebovskiy Poultry Factory, the Konstantinovo State Breeding Factory, the Novokuzyayevskiy Livestock Complex and the Rogachevskiy Sovkhoz--attest to what role the conditions and organization of labor play in the attachment of young people to the countryside. Here the mechanization and automation of production processes are widely used, working time is regulated, wages are higher than the average for the oblast. It is not by chance, therefore, that 70.7-75.8 percent of the young people of these farms are completely satisfied with the job being performed, and only 5.6-8.5 percent are dissatisfied. To the question "Would you like to move to the city?" 71.2-76.1

percent of those surveyed responded negatively, 20.5-23.6 percent had not thought about this and only 2.3-5.2 percent responded affirmatively. Where there are specialized complexes, in recent times a decrease of migration from the countryside to the city has been noted, and in some places the reverse process is even being observed. Graduates of secondary schools remain to work at agricultural enterprises of the industrial type, where a large choice of occupations exists and working conditions make it possible to increase one's skills and cultural level.

The limitedness of the opportunities to spend leisure time is one of the important causes of the dissatisfaction of young people with life in rural areas. As our study showed, the most widespread types of relaxation are the watching of television programs, listening to radio and tape recordings (16.6 percent), the reading of newspapers, journals, books (15.9 percent). Those who are not yet 20 years old spend more time on contact with friends, visiting clubs, attending movies and so on. Some of those surveyed (6.4 percent) indicated that they do not do anything at all during their free time.

In all 33.7 percent of the respondents believe that for the present too little attention is being devoted to the organization of the leisure of rural residents; this is not conducive to the attachment of young personnel. In our opinion, the uniting of all cultural and educational institutions (rural clubs, libraries, parks, people's museums and so on) into cultural and educational complexes could promote an increase of the effectiveness of the cultural service of the rural population. An unified planning system and the coordination of the work of the complexes would make it possible to take more completely into account the demands of young people.

Of the total number of surveyed graduates of the 8th and 10th grades 34.2 percent do not know what changes will occur in the next few years in their village and on their farm; 25 percent do not know, workers of what specialties are needed by their kolkhoz, sovkhoz; about 20 percent do not have an idea about any agricultural occupation.

Rural vocational and technical schools are an important source for the reinforcement of kolkhozes and sovkhozes with skilled personnel. Whether a graduate will work in the acquired specialty depends to a considerable extent on how the educational and training process is set up at the school, how practical production work is organized. The students of rural vocational and technical schools rate highly the role of practical production work and believe that it provides much for the acquisition of knowledge and skills in an occupation (90.2 percent of those surveyed indicated this). At the same time only 44.4 percent of the students are satisfied with the organization of practical production work, 39.3 percent believe that there are some shortcomings in its organization, 3.1 percent believe that the practical work is poorly organized, the remainder (13.2 percent) were not able to evaluate the level of organization of the practical work.

The nature of the choice of an occupation has a substantial influence on the production activity of the graduates of the schools. Thus, among machine operators, who deliberately chose this occupation, 38 percent do not allow flaws in work, while among those whose choice was random only 12 percent do not. In the first group 70 percent of the machine operators fulfill the output norms by 120 percent or more, while in the second group only 37 percent do.

On the other hand, of those whom the chosen specialty suits, more than 50 percent want to work and live in a rural area, while of those who intend to change specialty, only 18 percent want to.

On the basis of the data of the study three typological groups of rural young people were distinguished depending on the reasons for migration. The first group includes young people, whose aspiration to move to the city is explained by the availability there of better cultural and everyday conditions (47.5 percent). Those who are not satisfied with the job being performed or with individual aspects of it (more than one-third) make up the second group. Thus, among potential young migrants the proportion of people, who are not satisfied with their labor, is 40 percent. Those young people, whom the city attracts by the opportunity to continue one's studies and to acquire a good specialty (15.5 percent), belong to the third group. Among the real migrants there are more representatives of this group than among the potential migrants.

FOOTNOTES

1. The sovkhozes and kolkhozes of the different rayons of the oblast (Dmitrovskiy, Domodedovskiy, Yegor'yevskiy, Istrinskiy, Serebryano-Prudskiy, Solnechnogorskiy, Mozhayskiy, Ramenskiy), which were included in the sample, represented all the main types of farms by specialization. Typical collectives (clusters), in which all the working young people were studied and one representative in five of the older age group (over 30 years old) was surveyed, were selected at them. In all 3,299 people were surveyed, including 2,577 people up to the age of 30 (7 percent of the total number of young people employed at the farms of the oblast) and 722 representatives of the older age group. The respondents represented equally such occupational groups as machine operators, field-crop growers, livestock breeders and agricultural specialists. Moreover, 1,102 students of the 8th and 10th grades of rural schools and 316 students of rural vocational and technical schools were surveyed in these rayons.

2. These data are similar to the results of a study conducted in 1972-1973 by the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute of Labor and Management in Agriculture at 14 sovkhozes of Moscow Oblast. See Yu. K. Ivanov, V. D. Patrushev, "The Influence of Working Conditions on the Satisfaction of Agricultural Workers With Labor," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1976, p 66.

1. See "Chelovek i yego rabota" [Man and His Work], Moscow, 1967, p 208; "Dukhovnyy mir sovetskogo rabochego" [The Spiritual World of the Soviet Worker], Moscow, 1972, pp 113, 114.

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THE INFLUENCE ON THE TYPE OF SETTLEMENT ON SOCIAL CHANGES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 162-164

/Article by A. A. Basalay/

/Text/ The rapid development of agricultural production during the years of the recent five-year plans caused profound changes in the production, housing, cultural and everyday conditions in the countryside. The appearance of rural settlements also changed. In recent times new forms of the development and planning of the residential environment have become more and more widespread. The intensification of the process of the convergence of the city and the countryside under the conditions of the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of mature socialism is manifested in this.

The comparative study of new settlements and population clusters of the old type according to such indicators as the cultural and technical level of the inhabitants, their satisfaction with labor, the reasons for labor activity, migration and so on, makes it possible to identify the social consequences of the construction of new settlements and to take into account the gained experience.

The comparative sociological study conducted in 1978 at the Kommunist Sovkhoz of Yel'skiy Rayon of Gomel'skaya Oblast of the Belorussian SSR, a farm of the new type, and at the Zvezda Kolkhoz of the same rayon with dispersed production facilities and population clusters of the old type showed that substantial differences in production, housing, cultural and everyday conditions influence the degree of satisfaction with labor and the place of residence, the migration of young people, the social-occupational and age structure.

Favorable production, housing, cultural and everyday conditions have been created at the Kommunist Sovkhoz. In the summer 333 people worked here (according to the plan there should be 450 of them). The majority of them (97.9 percent) came from different corners of the Soviet Union, and 3.6 percent came from cities, 17.7 percent from the union republics, including 9.6 percent of the total number who came from the Ukrainian SSR, 5.4 percent from the Belorussian SSR, 13.2 percent from the farms of Yel'skiy Rayon,

61.6 percent from other rayons of Gomel'skaya Oblast, while only 2.1 percent were local people. Of the 88 people surveyed 47.7 percent responded that they came due to housing, 31.8 percent--due to family circumstances, 11.4 percent sought a higher wage, 3.4 percent were assigned to a job, the others named other reasons. At the same time more than half came from kolkhozes. The proportion of representatives of other nationalities amounts to 19.8 percent (Ukrainians made up 9.6 percent, Russians--8.7 percent, others--1.5 percent).

The social-occupational groups were broken down as follows:

1) administrative and management personnel and specialists, who make up the core of the agricultural detachment of the intelligentsia--13.5 percent;

2) middle-level managers and specialists--7.5 percent;

3) machine operators, who run machines and machinery--25.8 percent;

4) people who work at machines and machinery, but in part use highly skilled manual and physical labor--6.3 percent;

5) workers of skilled manual labor--16.2 percent;

6) workers of semiskilled and unskilled physical labor--30.7 percent.

Here in the first group 37.8 percent had a higher and incomplete higher education, 57.8 percent--a secondary specialized education, 4.4 percent--a secondary education; in the second group 40 percent had a secondary specialized education, 48 percent--a secondary education and courses, 12 percent--an incomplete secondary education. Among machine operators 8.1 percent were of the first class and 21.1 percent were of the second class, among workers at machines and machinery 38.1 percent had categories 4 and 5. Among those who worked at the sovkhoz the people 16-29 years old made up 48.4 percent, 30-44 years old--38.7 percent, 45-54 years old--11.7 percent, 55 years old and older--1.2 percent.

The favorable production, housing, cultural and everyday conditions were responsible for a quite high degree of satisfaction with labor and the place of residence of the workers of the sovkhoz. In all 71.6 percent (including 34.1 percent of the young people) did not intend to change their specialty (only 4.5 percent responded that their job was monotonous and uninteresting), 7.9 percent would like to perform a more complicated job involving the running of machines and machinery, 3.4 percent noted an excessive, in their opinion, workload in the labor processes, the same percent would like to earn more. Of the respondents 86.4 percent did not express the desire to move to the city. In all 42.1 percent (including 18.2 percent of the young people) would like their children to remain in the same village in which they live. In all 6.8 percent are directing their children toward a move to a rural settlement with better amenities, 5.7 percent--to a rayon center, 26.2 percent (including 14.8 percent of the young people)--to a

large city. As advantages of city dwellers 13.6 percent indicated the opportunity to obtain a most interesting job, 35.2 percent indicated the good cultural and everyday conditions (not all types of services are represented at the local personal services combine, for example, there is no barber-hair dresser shop, television and radio workshop), while 23.9 percent did not see any advantages. No correlation was observed with the social-occupational groups on these questions. On the respondents, 27.3 percent are disturbed by the inadequacy of the mechanization of labor in agriculture. Of those surveyed 90.9 percent go to the rayon center and nearby cities on holidays, days off, or else during working time. Of them 67 percent connect their trip with the purchase of industrial goods, 42 percent--foodstuffs, 11.4 percent--the sale of agricultural products at the market, 9.1 percent--production work, 6.8 percent--cultural measures.

The old-fashioned type of settlements and the inadequate development of the production base at the Zvezda Kolkhoz were the main causes of the lack of manpower resources. A large portion of the graduates of the secondary school continue to leave the kolkhoz. There are not enough local workers to perform the agricultural operations--38 people are recruited from other farms and even other rayons.

The breakdown by percent of the representatives of the different social-occupational groups at the Zvezda Kolkhoz is slightly different than at the Kommunist Sovkhoz:

1) administrative and management personnel--4.9 percent;

2) middle-level managers and specialists--6.1 percent;

3) machine operators who run machines and machinery--25 percent;

4) people who work at machines and machinery, but in part use highly skilled manual and physical labor--14.4 percent.

5) workers of skilled manual labor--10.6 percent;

6) workers of semiskilled and unskilled physical labor--39 percent.

In the first group 7.7 percent had a higher education, 69.2 percent--a secondary specialized education, 23.1 percent--a secondary education; in the second group 37.5 percent had a secondary specialized education, 62.5 percent--a secondary and incomplete secondary education.

At the kolkhoz there are fewer young people than at the sovkhoz (16.3 percent), more people of retirement age (42.2 percent). Of the respondents 12.4 percent stated that they would like to move to the city due to the unsatisfactory housing conditions. In all 62.9 percent noted the inadequate mechanization of labor at the farm. Some 65 percent are dissatisfied with municipal and everyday conditions, 21.6 percent--the lack of personal service workshops. In all 95.8 percent of those surveyed visit the rayon center

of nearby cities. Of them 84.5 percent connect their trip with the purchase of needed industrial goods, 41.2 percent--foodstuffs, 4.1 percent--the sale of agricultural products at the market, 9.3 percent--production work and only 1 percent--cultural measures.

It is important to note that 22.7 percent of the kolkhoz farmers would like their children to remain in the village, 50.6 percent are directing their children toward a move, including 13.4 percent to a different rural settlement with better amenities, 5.2 percent to the rayon center and 32 percent to a large city.

Thus, the differences in the production, housing, cultural and everyday conditions of rural settlements have an appreciable influence on the social-occupational and age structure of the population, on the satisfaction with labor and the place of residence and on the migration of young people.

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ON SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE SOCIALLY DANGEROUS BEHAVIOR OF MENTALLY RETARDED ADOLESCENTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 165-167

/Article by T. K. Belokobyl'skaya/

/Text/ The problem of mental retardation among minors is connected with the social consequences of this phenomenon, particularly the lack of progress in school, the deviant behavior of adolescents, which in the end affects the quality of manpower resources. At present the question of the influence of mental retardation on juvenile delinquency is attracting particular attention, since an increase of the proportion of people with psychological abnormalities is being observed among those who commit socially dangerous acts.[1]

We undertook a study, the tasks of which included the identification of juvenile delinquents who are secondary school students and are afflicted with mental retardation of different degrees, as well as the establishment of a connection between the features of this deviation and the natural of criminal behavior.[2]

Two groups of juvenile delinquents were studied: the first group included adolescents, in whom mental retardation of different degrees (oligophrenia proper, marginal mental retardation, the delay of psychological development) was diagnosed by psychiatrists; the second (control) group included adolescent offenders, in whom mental retardation was not found.

The average indicators of the occurrence of oligophrenia are 2-2.4 cases per 1,000 people;[3] among juvenile delinquents there are significantly more such people (10-15 percent of the total number).[4] In our study a higher indicator of the occurrence of mental retardation among adolescent offenders was obtained, since we took into account not only cases of oligophrenia, but also marginal mental retardation and the delay of psychological development. Thus, as a result of the study of the adolescents registered with the Inspectorate for Juvenile Affairs, mental retardation was detected in 19 percent of the cases, while among students of the special school it was detected in 26 percent of the cases. These data make it possible to speak

about the existence of a connection between mental retardation and criminal behavior.

Among the juvenile delinquents afflicted with mental retardation (the first group) boys (88 percent), adolescents 13-14 years old (61 percent) and 15-16 years old (39 percent) predominate.

In the control (second) group the ratio of boys and girls is the same, but the majority (58 percent) are 15-16 years old. Adolescents 13-14 years old make up 26 percent and barely more than 15 percent are 17-18 years old (in the first group there were not delinquents of this age).

The majority of those studied in the first group are students remaining in the same class another year, and, as a rule, they remained for a second year in one class two or more times. In the control group about 32 percent were students remaining in the same class another year, one in five of whom had remained for a second year twice.

Mentally retarded delinquents mainly (83 percent) come from families with many children (3 or more children) and broken families (44 percent). The parents of one adolesent in five also committed offenses, they all abuse alcohol, in most families rows, arguments and fight occur. In only two cases were the families of those studied from the first group characterized as happy.

In the control group the percentage of families with many children is also high (71 percent). This makes it possible to draw the important conclusion that the membership of mentally retarded adolescents primarily in families with many children results first of all from the lack of attention to the children on the part of the parents, the inability to organizing the rearing process and other unfavorable conditions.

Nearly half of those studied from the control group grew up in broken families. The parents of these adolescents tolerated criminal behavior in 14 percent of the cases, which is slightly lower than among mentally retarded adolescents, the level of abuse of alcohol in the families is also high, but happy families were encountered slightly more often than in the first group.

The description of the offenses of mentally retarded juveniles should be dwelled on in more detail, since the data of special literature attest to the existence of a correlation between the nature of socially dangerous behavior and the peculiarities of psychological deviation.[5] Moreover, among adolescents this relationship is more pronounced than among adults.

About 56 percent of those studied in the first group committed property offenses (petty theft, stealing and so forth). Running away from home and from children's institutions and long-term vagrancy account for 34 percent of all the committed offenses.

Mainly public property is the object of the larcenies and thefts of mentally retarded adolescents. For the most part they are candies, foodstuffs, alcoholic beverages and tobacco items from self-service stores and trade stalls. Moreover, they steal money from pockets in the school cloakroom. In other words, the object of infringement in all instances is readily accessible. The disturbance of the peace and mischief are encountered infrequently among the adolescents of this group--in 11 percent of the cases. Among those we surveyed there was not one person who had committed murder or rape or had caused bodily injuries. These data accord with the clinical and sociopsychiatric descriptions of adolescents with oligophrenia and other forms of mental retardation.[6] However, what has been said does not at all mean that they are not capable of committing an act of violence. Instances are known when those suffering from oligophrenia have committed murders, in which an obvious discrepancy was detected between the motive and severity of the crime.

In the second group the cases of vagrancy and running away from home and from children's institutions are encountered less frequently (18 percent of the total number of committed offenses). The proportion of property offenses is 10 percent lower than in the first group, thefts of alcoholic beverages and money, which are frequently accompanied by hooligan acts, predominate. Nearly one out of four mentally retarded adolescents has disturbed the peace and committed mischief, and a significant share of the offenses are of a violent nature.

The study of the reasons for criminal behavior is of great interest. The juvenile delinquents of the first group have difficulty making independent decisions, are notable for greater suggestibility, which is close to automatic obedience, conformity. The motive of imitation of comrades, especially those who are older, is typical of them (44 percent). It is not by chance that they most often commit group offenses (72 percent of all cases). These features are frequently combined with unmotivated obstinacy, which gives grounds to speak about the great social danger of these adolescents. The next motive in prevalence is the desire to acquire alcoholic beverages and cigarettes or money to buy them (22 percent). The proportion of unmotivated offenses is high (17 percent). In all 11 percent of the mentally retarded adolescents commit misdemeanors out of the disinclination to study.

Among the adolescents of the control group the motives are expressed more definitely. The proportion of unmotivated offenses is negligible--6 percent. They also committed the majority of offenses in groups (54 percent), which in general is characteristic of minors. The leading motive is the desire to appear daring, to boast (31 percent). Of the adolescents of the second group 24 percent commit offenses for the sake of obtaining alcohol, 15 percent--out of mischief, 11 percent--out of the disinclination to study and the craving for adventures. The motive of imitation of comrades is encountered in 10 percent of the cases.

Thus, the socially dangerous behavior of mentally retarded adolescents in its nature and motivation differs substantially from the corresponding behavior of the adolescents of the control group, which finds explanation in the specific nature of the psychological abnormality.

The craving for alcoholic beverages is characteristic of both groups of offenders, and the first use of alcohol dates to the age of 7-10.

The further study of the peculiarities of the criminal behavior of mentally retarded adolescents should be oriented toward the elaboration and implementation of measures of prevention with respect to the people, for whom the choice of a socially acceptable version of behavior is difficult due to their psychological deviation. The principle of combining sociolegal and medical-rehabilitative measures, which are aimed at the prevention of criminal behavior, should be the basis for prevention. In this connection the problems of the timely identification of mentally retarded children and their clear differentiation depending on the degree of mental deficiency arise. This is necessary for the implementation of measures on the rehabilitation of those who suffer from marginal mental retardation and the delay of psychological development.

FOOTNOTES

1. See V. G. Rotshteyn, "Materials of the Examination by a Psychiatrist of Sample Groups of the Adult Population in a Number of Regions of the USSR," ZHURNAL NEVROPATOLOGII I PSIKHIATRII IMENI S. S. KORSAKOVA, No 4, 1977; N. F. Kuznetsova, "Crime and Neuropsychological Disease," VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA. SERIYA PRAVO, No 3, 1977.

2. A contingent of students of the general educational schools of Ostrovskiy Rayon of Kostromskaya Oblast, who are registered with the Inspectorate for Juvenile Affairs, as well as juvenile delinquents from among the 7th and 8th graders of the Makar'yev Special School of Makar'yevskiy Rayon of Kostromskaya Oblast were studied. Moreover, the data of the card file of the inspectorate, the personal files of the students of the special school and the written compositions of those studied were analyzed.

   The study was conducted by staff members of the Department of Oligophrenia of the Moscow Scientific Research Institute of Psychiatry of the RSFSR Ministry of Health, the Sector of Social Problems of the Family and Daily Life of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and child psychiatrists of the oblast psychiatric hospital of Kostroma. In all about 100 adolescents were studied.

3. See T. C. N. Gibbens, "Basic Trends in Delinquency," Geneva, World Health Organization, 1963; O. V. Parfent'yeva, "On the Forensic Psychiatric Evaluation of Those Who Have Suffered From and Are Suffering From Oligophrenia," SUDEBNO-MEDITSINSKAYA EKSPERTIZA, No 2, 1978, p 39.

4. See PRAKTIKA SUDEBNO-PSIKHIATRICHESKOY EKSPERTIZY, No 21, 1974, p 36; Z. G. Rusinova, "Some Results of the Psychoneurological Study of Juvenile Delinquency," "Voprosy effektivnosti ugolovo-pravovykh mer vozdeystviya na nesovershennoletnego pravonarushitelya" /Questions of the Effectiveness of Criminal Law Measures of Pressure on the Juvenile Delinquent/, Riga, 1971, pp 229-230; "Sootnosheniye biologicheskogo i sotsial'nogo v razvitii cheloveka. Materialy simpoziuma (Vil'nyus, 5-7 sentyabrya 1974 g.)" /The Correlation of the Biological and the Social in the Development of Man. Symposium Materials (Vil'nyus, 5-7 September 1974)/, Moscow, 1974, p 1214.

5. See, for example, "Problemy sudebnoy i sotsial'noy psikhiatrii" /Problems of Forensic and Social Psychiatry/, Moscow, 1975, p 57; "Kriminalitat und Personlichkeit. Psychiatrisch, psychologisch und strafrechtliche Aspekte," Jena, 1972.

6. See "Voprosy ranney diagnostiki psikhicheskikh zabolevaniy (klinika, patogenez i lecheniye legkikh form intellektual'noy nedostatochnosti)" /Questions of the Early Diagnosis of Psychological Illnesses (The Clinic, Pathogenesis and the Treatment of Mild Forms of Intellectual Deficiency)/, issue 3, Moscow, 1978.

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THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND THE PROBLEM OF DEVELOPING INFORMATION ON THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 168-177

/Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Vladimir Alekseyevich Vinogradov, director of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The deepening general crisis of capitalism is having a dual effect on bourgeois ideology and social science thought. On the one hand, the trend toward differentiation has clearly intensified in the camp of the enemies of Marxism. Perhaps never during the postwar period have such a split, such discord, such a clash of opposing points of view been observed in their camp as during the 1970's. On the other hand, persistent efforts are being undertaken, which are aimed at the ideological consolidation of modern capitalism, the elaboration of new apologetic concepts and the theoretical validation of the policy of the ruling class.

As is known, a large number of concepts, whose authors attempted to prove that modern capitalism has undergone profound internal transformations, has overcome the economic crises and social contrasts and has even been transformed into some new social system, in which class conflicts are as if disappearing, appeared in the West in the 1950's and 1960's. Here one finds both the earlier, oversimplified, frankly apologetic concepts of "the consumer society," "the welfare state," the "embourgeoisement" of the working classes and the theories, which lay claim to a more scientific approach, of "a mixed economy," "pluralistic democracy," the "deideologization" of modern society. Here, finally, are the concepts which proclaimed that the West had ostensibly embarked on a new stage of development--the "postindustrial" society (D. Bell), the "postcapitalist" society (R. Darendorf), "the technetronic era" (Z. Brzezinski), "the new industrial society" (J. Galbraith) and so on and so forth. "Futurology," which had become fashionable, "supported" these "discoveries" with optimistic forecasts of the so-called new society in the foreseeable and even the unforeseeable future.

The crises, which in recent years have affected all areas of the life of the capitalist countries, have undermined the faith in the validity of

these concepts and have been conducive to the spread of sentiments of pessimism. The increasing instability of the capitalist economic system, which set in after a period of relatively rapid economic growth, has completely compromised the concepts of "organized capitalism" and "a mixed economy." Mass unemployment, the uncontrollable rise in prices and the increase of social inequality have debunked the theories of "the welfare state" and "the consumer society." The aggravation of the class struggle showed in reality the untenability of the claims of the "embourgeoisement" and "deideologization" of the working class, the rearrangement of the relations between labor and capital in the spirit of "social partnership." The numerous revelations of corruption in the government machinery, scandals like Watergate, terrorism and other similar phenomena in the political life of the capitalist countries have exposed the myth of the stability and superiority of "pluralistic democracy" in the West. None of the bourgeois concepts, which were fashionable in previous decades, has avoided reassessment. Thus, for example, Daniel Bell, one of the founders of the doctrine of "deideologization and chairman of the well-known Commission of 2000, in his book "The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism" writes: "I believe that we... are the witnesses of the collapse of bourgeois views of the activity of man and social relations... which formed the modern age in the past 200 years..."[1] and states that under capitalism there is no common goal, no common belief--only mistakes.

A wave of criticism and "self-criticism" seized the entire ideological arsenal, which was created in the 1950's and 1960's by the efforts of an enormous army of bourgeois theorists and journalists. The appearance of new concepts, which were permeated with despairs, skepticism and pessimism (here, of course, the pessimism is also projected onto the socialist world), was a reflection of this crisis. An "ecological catastrophe" is being predicted, as an alternative to which a policy of "zero growth" is being recommended. Some bourgeois authors are portending the "totalitarianization" of society in the countries of the West.

The group of so-called new philosophers in France, which includes former Maoists, structuralists and followers of existentialism and was widely boosted in the West by the bourgeois media in 1977-1978 as the herald of "new ideas," has also made its contribution to the general chorus of prophecies of a gloomy future of mankind. In practice, by denying the fundamental differences between capitalism and socialism, the "new philosophers" are acting as the most zealous enemies of the historical progress of mankind. Their banner is all-destroying skepticism and pessimism. Thus, B.-H. Levy calls for "the wringing of the neck of optimism," "the tempering of oneself with despair." In an apocalyptic manner it is proclaimed that "the world is a catastrophe, the height of which is man."[2]

At the same time schools of sociopolitical thought, the supporters of which are by no means Marxists, but are attempting to take into account the real external and internal conditions, under which the capitalist world has been, exist and are developing. In the area of international relations they support detente and the peaceful coexistence of states with different

social systems. In the sphere of domestic policy some means or others of treating the economic and social ulcers of modern capitalism are being proposed.

However, the apologia of capitalism, which includes the elaboration of practical recommendations for the ruling circles, remains the main function of bourgeois ideology. This trend is especially closely connected with the enormously increased role of "global business"--the multinational corporations--in the life of the capitalist countries. "Global business" needs not only a supernational economic and political structure, but also a new ideological and propaganda program, which is leading to a unique integration of the bourgeois academic elite with the military-industrial complex, big business and the government machinery not only on a national, but also on a world scale. The so-called Trilateral Commission, which is made up of more than 200 representatives from more than 100 international and national monopolistic associations of the United States, Western Europe and Japan, as well as government figures and scholars of Columbia, Harvard and Georgetown universities, can serve as an example of such integration. The thesis of the need to organize relations with the countries of the socialist community from a position of strength is invariably cited in the publications of this commission.

The "brain trusts" of the multinational monopolies are called upon not only to elaborate specific recommendations of a socio-economic and administrative nature, but also to provide the ruling class with ideas and methods of fighting real socialism, Marxism-Leninism and the world revolutionary movement.

The leading line of bourgeois ideologists on this level consists in the aspiration to prove that capitalist society has internal elasticity, the ability to overcome difficulties and to improve itself. Such, in particular, was the leitmotif of the propaganda campaign, which was launched in connected with the celebration of the bicentennial of the United States of America. The thesis that the United States remains a symbol of progress, a "social laboratory" of mankind, the personification of the inexhaustible dynamism of capitalist society, has declined in every possible way not only in this country, but also far beyond it.

It should be noted that the late 1970's and early 1980's were not the best time for a frank apology of capitalism. Therefore more disguised methods of the ideological justification and exaltation of capitalist society are being used. Frequently the idea of the exceptional capability of capitalism for self-improvement is interwoven with a detailed and very critical description of its illnesses, with a discussion of the necessary reforms, which are called upon to "cure" these illnesses, having left inviolable the economic and political foundations of bourgeois society. Here, however, it is noteworthy that in recent years bourgeois social science has not advanced any in the least significant new theory, which aspires to an explanation of the structure of modern capitalism and the main trends of its

development. The emphasis has been placed on making adjustments in the corresponding concepts and theoretical models of bourgeois society.

In the apologetics of capitalism references to its "historical services," to the economic and social progress achieved during its existence and to the development of bourgeois democracy are used extensively, while it is knowingly concealed that all the social and political gains, which the proletariat has made, were the result of the continuous, determined class struggle. The references to past "services" should as if lead the workers to the conclusion that the difficulties being experienced by capitalism today are temporary and that it remains historically the best form of the organization of society. The attempts to advance as an alternative to Marxist-Leninist doctrine rejuvenated conservatism, which appeals to the "invariable" nature of man, to his "perpetual" natural needs and rejects the very idea of social progress, border on this line. Neoconservative trends can be seen more and more clearly in the policy of the ruling circles of a number of countries of Western Europe and especially the United States. Extreme anticommunism and anti-Sovietism unite the neoconservatives with the traditional conservatives.

P. Steinfels' book "Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America's Politics" was published in the United States in 1979. The author, while exposing from the position of leftist liberalism the untenability of the basic ideas of neoconservatism, at the same time emphasizes [illegible] they reflect significant changes in the sentiments of the ruling circles of the country and have a significant influence on U.S. domestic and foreign policy. The objective of the neoconservatives consists in the creation of a "counterbalance to democracy," in the constant underscoring of the "communist threat."[3] P. Steinfels' book casts light on the "ideological" sources of the unbridled anti-Soviet campaign, which was launched early this year in the United States.

In recent times the importance of the ideological component in the foreign policy of the leading imperialist powers, and first of all the United States, has increased significantly. Certain circles in the West are also attempting to transform the matter of detente into an object of political and ideological manipulations, to link it with political and ideological concessions of the socialist countries, to use it for interference in their internal affairs, to force the socialist countries to give up support of the struggle of the working class in the capitalist world, the progressive trends in the developing countries and the national liberation movement. Of course, all this has nothing in common with the real content of detente.

The change in the balance of forces on the world arena in favor of socialism and the steady increase of the attractiveness of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the broad popular masses throughout the world are forcing bourgeois ideologists to invent newer and newer, more subtle methods for discrediting socialist ideals and their embodiment in the practice of real socialism, for falsifying the policy of the ruling Communist and Workers' parties and for undermining the solidarity of the world socialist system, the moral and

political unity of socialist society. In the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress L. I. Brezhnev stressed that "the ideological confrontation of the two systems is becoming more active, imperialist propaganda is becoming more subtle."[4]

The study of the political, social, economic and other processes and phenomena, which are taking place in society, the extension and broadening of scientific knowledge about the objective laws of social development and the concrete specific peculiarities of the manifestation of these laws are a firm foundation and necessary condition of the comprehensive criticism and exposure of hostile ideology.

The demand for the further increase of the effectiveness of the ideological struggle, the constant study of the ideological arsenal of bourgeois science and close attention to the latest "theories" and "concepts" being advanced in the capitalist world, to the means and methods being used by bourgeois propaganda for the manipulation of the consciousness of the workers is emphasized in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work."

Hence ensues the great role which belongs in the ideological struggle to the system of information on the social sciences. Its workers are faced with a two-in-one task: on the one hand, to analyze and promote the most important achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought in the countries of socialism and capitalism and, on the other, to follow attentively the evolution of bourgeois science and ideology, to reveal the ideological and political content and essence of the latest non-Marxist and anti-Marxist theories.

This task in both its aspects should be solved and is being solved with the use of all the means, forms and methods of scientific information, which are at our disposal, at all the stages of the information process. There is no link in the activity of the workers of information on the social sciences, in which the ideological factor would be allowed to be ignored.

At the stage of the acquisition of the holdings of primary documents--the sources and literature, which then will both directly serve the goals of scientific research and be used in the production of secondary information--we are faced with the need to take ideological requirements into account. It is quite obvious that it is a very difficult matter to determine at this stage, often without seeing it, not only the scientific, but also the ideological importance of one publication or another. Enormous preliminary work on the study of research centers, the trends and directions of the development of social thought and personnel is necessary for this.

At the subsequent stages of the information process the importance of the ideological factor not only does not decrease, but increases even more. Let us take, for example, such areas as the classification of literature, the compiling of subject headings and the issuing of bibliographical indices. The information workers performing this work should constantly feel

the pulse of social thought and constantly take into account the latest shifts and trends in the development of the ideological struggle. The prompt distinction of new problems and new scientific and ideological concepts and the identification of their meaningful relations in the overall system of social phenomena and processes are of fundamental importance for the timely mobilization of the attention of scholars--both for the positive elaboration of those questions which objectively merit this and for the well-reasoned criticism of alien, unscientific ideas. This especially concerns problems, which are at the meeting point of different scientific disciplines and therefore require comprehensive, interdisciplinary elaboration.

Abstract publications--periodic journals, problem and thematic collections, scientific analytical and abstract reviews, which are published by the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences--hold the most important place both in the promotion of the achievements of Marxist-Leninist scientific thought and in the study of the present state of bourgeois social science, including the analysis of its ideological aspects.

We are trying to see to it that our abstract journals serve as an effective support both for the development of scientific research and for the increase of the effectiveness of the ideological struggle. The editorial collegia of the various series of abstract journals in their activity are trying to take into account the interests of not only the research associates and teaching staff of higher educational institutions, but also propagandists, lecturers and workers of the media. Precisely this circumstance ensures abstract journals increasing popularity and makes it possible to have a positive influence on the ideological educational process in our country and the fraternal socialist countries.

The aim of abstract journals is to provide the reader promptly with the basic information about the contents of the scientifically, ideologically and politically most significant works on the widest range of problems, to enable the permanent reader of the journals to keep track of the latest novelties in scientific literature both in the special field which directly interests him and in many related fields and even fields which are comparatively remote from the sphere of his professional interests. The latter circumstance is very important and necessary in solving research problems as such and for the successful combatting of hostile ideas.

The need for a comprehensive approach to scientific developments and the ideological confrontation, and accordingly to the building of a system of scientific information on social science is connected with factors of an objective and a subjective order. The former are rooted in the interrelationship and interdependence of the phenomena and processes of social life, which are constantly growing stronger under present conditions, which requires of the scholar the most attentive consideration of the features which go (sometimes quite far) beyond the framework of a specific topic of research. The latter ensure from the convergence and interpenetration of the methods of various fields of knowledge (and this concerns not only the social sciences, but also the natural and precise sciences).

The reflection in abstract journals of a complete picture of the trend of social thought--for all the scientific and ideological political urgency of this activity--far from exhausts the tasks of information workers. The thorough and comparatively detailed reflection of the present state and trends of both the comprehensive and specialized study of key questions of social development is of no less importance both for the further development of scientific research and for the increase of the effectiveness of the ideological struggle. This direction is being realized by us first of all in the preparation and publication of problem and thematic abstract collections and scientific analytical reviews.

The theoretical generalization of the experience of building socialism and the achievements of real socialism in our times is one of the most important tasks of Marxist-Leninist science. The very concept "real socialism" has become a key category of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of the present, a concrete embodiment of the historical progress of mankind. Real socialism is the vital social fabric, the concrete historical material existence of scientific socialism. On this level the study of the link and interrelationship between scientific and real socialism is of basic importance. As was noted at the international theoretical conference of Communist and Workers' parties, which was held in Sofia in late 1978, the concept "real socialism" successfully unites the objective social processes, which have a single essence, but differ in the concrete practical embodiment of the theory of scientific socialism.[5]

The achievements in the building of mature socialism do not mean that the path of the socialist countries to communism is simple and smooth. As has been repeatedly emphasized in the documents of the Communist and Workers' parties, it is a complicated, dialectically contradictory--both internally and externally--process. The Communist parties are not oversimplifying its essence, are not underestimating its difficulties and are not passing over in silence the complications which they have occasion to encounter. As historical experience shows, as the process of the building of socialism intensifies, its structure becomes more complex, its scale increases and greater demands are made on planning and management. The tasks in the area of economics and politics, ideology, science and culture at the present stage of the building of socialism--our information publications speak of this--are becoming more and more diverse, while the problem of optimization is becoming more and more important both in the area of economics and in the area of social development as a whole.

The spreading of the truth about real socialism, its achievements and its superiority over the capitalist system is the best weapon in combatting the attempts of the ideologists of contemporary anticommunism to distort the achievements of real socialism. A permanent task of our information publications is to help ideological workers in exposing bourgeois propaganda. Therefore it is not by chance that among the publications issued by the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences a considerable share are devoted to theoretical questions of the mature socialist society, the formation and development of the world socialist system.

The elucidation of the problems of mature socialism by the scientific media should promote the further advancement of creative Marxist-Leninist thought, first of all the scientific interpretation of the processes and phenomena, which are characteristic of the present stage of social development in the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. Information publications, by collecting the achievements of Marxist-Leninist science, are in turn a source for new conclusions and generalizations and are of great importance in the matter of implementing the policy adopted by the fraternal parties of building and further developing mature socialism. At the same time the concentrated analytic and synthetic information on all aspects of the life of socialist society at the present stage and on the means and methods of solving the problems facing them should provide the workers of the ideological front with diverse arguments which convincingly corroborate the advantages of the socialist social system over the bourgeois system.

The widest range of problems of mature socialism is at the center of attention of the workers of the system of scientific information on social sciences in our country. Among them we should mention such most important questions as the further development of the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party, the building of the material and technical base of socialism and communism, the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, the development of socialist economic integration, the convergence of social groups and strata and the movement toward the social homogeneity of society, the extension of socialist democracy, the flourishing of spiritual culture under socialism and the formation of a thoroughly developed individual and so on. This cardinal direction for our work is being implemented in all the types and forms of abstract and scientific analytical information, which are being used by us.[6]

In determining the themes of the abstract collections the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences devotes especially close attention to certain characteristic problems and directions, on which both the basic efforts of researchers in the socialist countries and the attacks of our ideological enemies are focused. They are first of all the leading role of the Communist Party at the stage of mature socialism, the system of socialist production relations, the essence and peculiarities of socialist democracy and the socialist way of life, the dialectic correlations of the basic laws and national specifics in the choice of the means and methods of building socialism and communism and several others. It is in the approach to these problems that the main divide runs between those who defend the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and those who reject these principles or try under any pretext to revise them. The attitude toward the main characteristics of real socialism is now the touchstone for verifying the true class and party essence of various concepts and ideological-political trends.

In recent years alone the abstract collections and bibliographical indices "O razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve" /On the Mature Socialist

Society/ (1976), "Sotsialisticheskiy obraz zhizni" /The Socialist Way of Life/ (1976), "Sotsialisticheskiy obraz zhizni i kul'tura" /The Socialist Way of Life and Culture/ (1977), "Partiya--rukovodyashchaya sila obshchestva" /The Party Is the Guiding Force of Society/ (1978), "Razvitoye sotsialisticheskoye obshchestvo: teoriya i praktika" /The Mature Socialist Society: Theory and Practice/ (1979) and many others have been prepared and published on the above-mentioned problems. The most significant works, which are issued in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, are used in preparing such publications. Our professional and party duty in the scientific information elaboration of the most important themes connected with fundamental questions of the building of socialism and communism is to reveal and emphasize the unity of the positions of the social science scholars of the fraternal countries. This unity, which is based on unwavering belief in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, serves as a reliable guarantee of our common gains--both in the development of science and in the ideological battles with the enemies of socialism.

The International Information System on Social Sciences of the Socialist Countries (MISON) is playing an important and ever increasing role in the matter of further increasing the effectiveness of the ideological struggle. Practically all the problem and thematic abstract collections and indices of literature, which have been published under the signature stamp of the MISON and are being prepared for publication, have a clearly expressed ideological orientation. This equally pertains both to the publications, which cover the scientific, Marxist-Leninist elaboration of the problems of socialist society and the world revolutionary process, and to those which contain criticism of anti-Marxist concepts and reflect the manifestations of the ideological, political and spiritual crisis of capitalism.

The first abstract collection, which was prepared jointly by the national information centers of the MISON member countries and was devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, demonstrated the unity of the scholars of the world socialist system in the interpretation of the enormous inspiring influence which the ideas of October had and continue to have on the destinies of the peoples of our countries and all mankind. In the collections which came later and were devoted to questions of the socialist way of life, socialist democracy and proletarian internationalism, there was a might store of positive ideas, the great experience of building real socialism, which is of permanent importance for the entire modern world, was generalized.

Among the publications of the MISON, which contain in concentrated form Marxist-Leninist criticism of revisionist ideology, there should be mentioned, in particular, the Soviet-Polish abstract collection "Kritika teorii i praktiki maoizma" /Criticism of the Theory and Practice of Maoism/, which also appeared as one of the first and in which the ideological and political sources of Maoism, the Maoist distortions of the principles of the building of socialism and the great power chauvinistic policy of Beijing on the world arena are exposed on the basis of the works of Soviet and Polish scholars.

The collection "Kritika burzhuaznoy ideologii, reformizma i revizionizma" /Criticism of Bourgeois Ideology, Reformism and Revisionism/, which summarizes the critical analysis of the main direction in which international anticommunism is developing the ideological struggle against the main revolutionary forces of the present--the world socialist system, the international workers' movement and the national liberation movement--gives a broad panorama of the large amount of work, which social science scholars of the countries of the socialist community are performing on exposing theories that are hostile to Marxism. The criticism of the bourgeois concepts of "the quality of life" occupies a special place in it. The attention to this question is quite nature and justified in connection with the fact that the problem of the way of life in recent years has become very urgent in the area of the ideological struggle. The qualitatively different essence of the social processes, which take place under the conditions of socialism and capitalism, are as if reflected in the diametrically opposed approaches to it of bourgeois and reformist ideologists, on the one hand, and scholars who hold a Marxist-Leninist position, on the other. It is not by chance that another collection published under the signature stamp of the MISON--"Sotsialisticheskiy obraz zhizni" /The Socialist Way of Life/, which contains a large amount of interesting material directly connected with the ideological struggle--was specially devoted to this problem.

A special place in the publications of the MISON, which are devoted to the struggle of ideas in the contemporary world, is held by a collection of works of scholars of western countries, who hold progressive political positions, "Narusheniye prav i svobod cheloveka v kapitalisticheskikh stran" /Violation of Human Rights and Freedoms in the Capitalist Countries/, which contains abundant factual material, which incontrovertibly attests to the grossest violations of civil rights and freedoms under capitalism: the distortion of constitutional principles, socio-economic inequality, discrimination, restriction of freedom of speech and the press, arbitrariness of the court and so forth. The comparison of concrete data, which attest to the most profound crisis of bourgeois democracy, with the real political and socio-economic status of the individual under socialism provides convincing arguments against the myth being spread by bourgeois ideologists about the "advantages" of the political system of capitalism and clearly demonstrates the genuine democratic nature and humanism of the socialist system.

Several collections, the work on which was headed by the information centers of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland and the CSSR, have been published. It can be stated with pleasure that in their scientific, ideological and political level they all conform to the tasks which the executive organs of our parties are setting. The choice of urgent problems, the careful selection of the most representative courses and their thorough, adequate disclosure are conducive to this. Thus, the abstract collection "Razvitiye sotsialisticheskoy demokratii" /The Development of Socialist Democracy/, which was published in Bulgaria, covers the results and prospects of the development and improvement of socialist democracy and at the same time exposes the attempts of bourgeois ideologists to falsify these processes. The

collection "Mirovoy revolyutsionnyy protsess na sovremennom etape" /The World Revolutionary Process at the Present Stage/, the work on which was coordinated by scholars of the GDR, contains materials, which expose the bourgeois, revisionist and opportunistic interpretations of the nature of the current age, the role and place of the world socialist system, the international workers' movement and the national liberation movement in the process of the world revolutionary shift from capitalism to socialism. The collection "Problemy proletarskogo internatsionalizma" /Problems of Proletarian Internationalism/, which was published in the CSSR, reveals the importance of proletarian internationalism as an integral component of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice and shows its role in the development of the world revolutionary process at the present stage, in the interrelations between the national detachments of the working class, between the Communist and Workers' parties. The special importance of the international education of the workers in connection with the tireless attempts of the ideologists of anticommunism to undermine the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement and the world socialist system, by taking advantage of national feelings and interests, is emphasized.

The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences coordinated the work on the preparation of the abstract collection "Razvitiye sotsialisticheskogo sotrudnichestva" /The Development of Socialist Cooperation/, the goal of which is to inform the readers about the most important theoretical and practical questions of the development of socialist cooperation and their importance at the present stage of the world revolutionary movement.

The first theoretical conference of the MISON, which was held in Varna in September 1978, is of great importance for the development of information in the socialist countries and for the strengthening of our ideological line in the information publications of the MISON.

The elaboration of a number of themes, which have been included in the plan of the MISON for 1979-1980 and the fulfillment of which will, in our opinion, make a substantial contribution to the cause of the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the criticism of view and concepts, which are hostile to it, is now under way. The collections, which it is planned to publish in 1980, cover questions of the domestic and foreign policy of the socialist countries, the world revolutionary movement, the struggle for peace and detente. The publications, which are devoted directly to the struggle against anti-Marxist ideology, occupy a significant place. Among them are: "Kontseptsii burzhuaznoy propagandy i ikh kritika" /The Concepts of Bourgeois Propaganda and Their Criticism/, "Kritika burzhuaznoy istoriografii po problemam istoricheskogo protsessa" /Criticism of Bourgeois Historiography on Problems of the Historical Process/, "Krizis burzhuaznoy mysli" /The Crisis of Bourgeois Thought/, "Kritika antikommunizma i burzhuaznykh kontseptsiy razvitiya sotsialisticheskikh stran" /Criticism of Anticommunism and Bourgeois Concepts of the Development of the Socialist Countries/, "Kritika sovremennoy burzhuaznoy demokratii" /Criticism of Modern Bourgeois Democracy/, "Kritika ideologii i praktiki maoizma" /Criticism of the Ideology and Practice of Maoism/.

Under the conditions of the full-scale building of a communist society the system of scientific information on social sciences is of exceptionally great theoretical and practical importance. The rational use of the intellectual potential is one of the most important current means of intensifying scientific activity. The creation of a unified information system on social sciences in our country is promoting the more complete and effective mobilization of this potential, the increase of the theoretical level of scientific and pedagogical activity in the field of the social sciences and serves the tasks of the further intensification of the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

FOOTNOTES

1. D. Bell, "The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism," New York, 1976, p 7.

2. See B.-H. Levy, "La barbarie a visage humain," Paris, 1977.

3. P. Steinfels, "Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America's Politics," New York, 1979, pp 67, 213.

4. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 74.

5. See PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 2-4, 1979.

6. For example, such series of abstract journals as PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA, GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, EKONOMIKA, FILOSOFIYA I SOTSIOLOGIYA, LITERATUROVEDENIYE to a great extent are oriented toward the elucidation of the problems of mature socialism. Thus, questions connected with the changes in the social structure of society at the stage of mature socialism, the overcoming of the substantial differences between the city and the countryside, between mental and physical labor, the use of scientific principles in the management of social processes, the communist education of workers and so on are regularly reflected in the series PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA.

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SOME QUESTIONS OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF STUDIES OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 178-185

/Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Petr Nikolayevich Reshetov, deputy chief of the Chair of Ideological Work of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee/

/Text/ In recent years the youth movement of the capitalist countries has attracted greater and greater attention of Soviet researchers. Suffice it to say that from 1967 to 1977 alone more than 40 dissertations were prepared and defended in the USSR, more than 4,500 works (monographs, booklets, articles, scientific reports)[1] were published, in which the status of young people in the capitalist countries, their place and role in the present class struggle and the experience of the struggle of the Communist and Workers' parties for the consolidation of the youth movement on progressive stands are examined; anti-Marxist concepts, which distort the essence of the processes taking place in the youth movement and hinder the formation and development in it of a revolutionary democratic orientation, are criticized.

The interest of Soviet scholars in the indicated problems is not accidental. Young people make up more than a third of the gainfully employed population of the earth. Their place and role in the world revolutionary process are especially increasing at the present stage, which is characterized, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, by the further consolidation of the positions of socialism, the intensification of the class struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries, the development of national liberation movements and the broad scope of the antimonopolistic, anti-imperialist struggle.[2]

In evaluating the activeness of young people in the revolutionary struggle it is necessary, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism emphasized, to take into account the sociopsychological peculiarities which are characteristic of them and express the content, direction and form of the realization of the basic needs of young people, their interests and sentiments, the uniqueness of the formation and functioning among young people of value orientations, standards of behavior, that is, everything that characterizes

them in society as a specific sociodemographic group. V. I. Lenin had precisely this in mind when, in drafting a concrete plan of the uprising in October 1917, he demanded that "the /most determined/ /in italics/ elements (our 'shock workers' and working youth, as well as the best sailors) be placed in small detachments for their occupation of all the most important points and /for involvement/ /in italics/ by them everywhere, in all important operations."[3]

To be sure, in any society, and especially a class antagonistic society, young people do not represent a homogeneous whole: there are working youth, peasant youth, school youth, student youth. In these categories in turn it is also possible to distinguish different social groups. Many features, even those specific for young people, are realized in different societies, in different social groups differently. As life shows, they can also be used differently.

All this attests that the analysis of the potentials of certain detachments of young people or others should not be inflexible. Let us recall that V. I. Lenin, in speaking about the sociopolitical groupings of students, which reflect the sociopolitical groupings of society as a whole, specified at the same time that such a correspondence should be regarded dialectically, that is, "...not in the sense of the complete proportionality of student and social groups according to their strength and size, but in the sense of the necessary and inevitable existence among students of those groups which exist in society."[4]

The participants in the Conference "The Social Activeness of Young People and the Communists," which was held in Prague in 1974, also directed attention to this feature. The explanation of the essence of the actions of certain groups of students or others only by the social origin of their participation, it was noted at the conference, can bring about "the danger of eliminating many of them" from the revolutionary struggle. It is necessary, General Secretary of the Central Committee of Communist Youth of Columbia R. Romero said, to take into account "the specific traits of young people, the peculiarities of their involvement in the revolutionary process."[5]

This assumption does not contradict in the least the class approach to the evaluation of certain forces or others of the social liberation movement. Considering class membership the most fundamental basis of political convictions, V. I. Lenin stressed at the same time that this basis "is revealed only in proportion to the progress of historical development and in proportion to the consciousness of the participants in and the creators of this development. This 'last reckoning' is furnished only by the political struggle."[6]

It is indisputable that in spite of all the peculiarities of the present development, as well as the specific nature of young people as a social group, they are not able independently either to form a more or less organized movement or to elaborate their own ideology, not matter what form their

activity might assume. Hence the objective need for the choice by the different groups and detachments of young people of a specific political movement, which takes a specific class stand and with which they could link their destiny, as well as the choice of a quite specific ideal, world outlook. In this connection V. I. Lenin noted that it is possible to speak about the "revolutionizing" of students "only from the point of view of a quite specific view of the content and nature of this revolutionizing."[7]

Under the conditions of the crisis of modern state-monopoly capitalism, which has rained new misfortunes and ordeals on young people, the conditions are forming in the West for the break of larger and larger groups of young people with capitalist society, and new opportunities to achieve the unity of their actions in the common antimonopolistic front are opening. "Young people, as never before, have many material, ideological and moral grounds to reject the existing society," it was noted at the plenum of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. "...Never have they had so many reasons to rally together to fight for the building of a new society, in which education, work and life would acquire meaning."[8]

Young people now constitute up to 30-40 percent of the unemployed in the capitalist countries. According to official data alone, in 24 developed captialist states more than 7 million young people up to 25 years only at the beginning of 1979 were looking for a job.[9] In this respect the future appears gloomier and gloomier. Even the bourgeois press notes that the development of the economy during the 1980's will not alleviate this problem.[10] The crisis has undermined the already modest expenditures in the capitalist countries on the education and vocational training of young people. In the United States during the past decade alone they have decreased by 30 percent.[11] In England admissions to liberal arts higher educational institutions have been cut almost in half and at the same time tuition at all levels of the schools has been increased. Owing to material insecurity up to 80-85 percent of young Americans yearly leave universities without having completed their education.[12] Researchers correctly note that, even according to the roughest estimates, each of the enrollees in a secondary or higher educational institution has a 50-50 chance to complete his studies on the set date and to receive a diploma.

Under these conditions the activeness of the most diverse groups and strata of young people is increasing. Attention was directed to this fact at the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe in 1973, which was convened specially to discuss questions of the work with young people. In the materials of the 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties "the aspiration of young people, in whose hands lies the future... of the continent, with increasing enthusiasm to take part in the struggle for a Europe of peace, progress and freedom, for a Europe heading for a socialist future"[13] was emphasized. The Italian, French and German Communist Parties, communists of the United States, Great Britain and other countries note in their program documents the increase of the participation of young people in the struggle for democracy and the social renewal of contemporary society.

In the youth movement in the capitalist countries trends, which promote its consolidation on progressive, democratic positions in the common front of the antimonopolistic struggle, which is headed by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties, can be traced more and more distinctly. Various strata of young people are showing an interest in the experience of the organized struggle of the working class and in its revolutionary ideology--Marxism-Leninism. The political views of the present youth movement are broadening appreciably, the demands for the solution of the real problems of young people--the improvement of living and working conditions and the conditions of relaxation, the granting of guarantees of employment, the improvement of the system of vocational and technical training and secondary and higher education--are coming to the forefront in it.

The influence of progressive, leftist groups has increased among the different groups of protesting young people. In Italy, France, the FRG, England and other countries the communist youth leagues have won back the initiative in the struggle for the democratization of general and specialized education and have considerably stepped up the activity in various areas of social life.

The increase of the influence of communists in the ranks of the fighting young people was also expressed in the steady increase of the size of Marxist youth organizations. On the whole the communist youth movement not only has grown strong organizationally, but has been reinforced by means of the establishment of new leagues--the Socialist Working Youth of the FRG (1968), the Communist Youth League of Greece (1969), the Communist Youth League of Austria (1970), the League of Young Workers for the Liberation of the United States and the Communist Youth League of Canada (1970), the Communist Youth League of Sweden (1973), the Communist Youth League of Switzerland (1974), the Communist Youth League of Denmark (1974), the Communist Youth League of Portugal (1975), as well as the Spartak Association of Marxist Students in the FRG (1971) and the communist student leagues in Portugal and Austria (1972).

At present 23 Marxist youth organizations and 8 Marxist student associations, which are closely linked with the Communist and Workers' parties, are in operation in the capitalist countries of Europe and North America.

In the youth movement of the western countries, including its conservative and bourgeois-liberal wing, despite the resistence of the right-wing leadership, the sentiments in favor of the development of cooperation with the progressive youth organizations of both bourgeois and socialist countries are intensifying. This evolution has also affected such right-wing forces in the youth movement as the Youth Movement of the Christian Democratic Party and the Youth of the Christian Association of Workers in Italy, the Youth League of Germany in the FRG, and the Catholic Association of French Youth and so forth.

Having overcome to a considerable extent the spontaneity, ideological uncertainty and organizational muddle, which prevailed in the youth movement

in the 1960's and early 1970's, the progressive portion of the young people in the capitalist countries was on the verge of understanding its social goals. But the majority of young people in the capitalist countries for the present are still remaining aloof of the struggle. The disenchantment, which spread among the participants of the mass democratic movement of the late 1960's and early 1970's, which for its most part was unproductive, as well as the influence on young people of the bourgeois policy of social maneuvering and the manipulation of consciousness played not the last role in this.

Imperialism is doing everything to prevent the convergence of the broad circles of democratic young people with the main revolutionary force of the present--the working class and its militant vanguard--the Marxist-Leninist parties. Here both the outspoken champions of anticommunism and the "radical left" ideologists, theorists of the "counterculture," the "revolution of the consciousness," "Christian radicalism," the "new philosophers" and so on, who lay claim to the "new word" in the political struggle, are attempting to use in their interests the broadening of the composition of the participants in the antimonopolistic movement, spreading among them various kinds of bourgeois, reformist, leftist concepts and views. An important place in the pressure tactics of monopoly capitalism on young people is held by the attempts to put their most determined groups on the erroneous path of the struggle, including the path of terrorism.

All this requires increased attention to questions of the formation of the revolutionary, class consciousness of different groups and strata of young people of the capitalist countries.

In this connection the need for the utmost increase of the level of the studies both of the youth movement itself and of the processes, which are leaving a mark on the social and moral character of its participants, is arising with particular urgency.[14] The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, which advanced the task of the thorough study of "the cardinal problems of world development and international relations, the revolutionary process, the interaction and unity of its different streams,"[15] are aiming Soviet scholars at more active research in this area.

Our scholars have a considerable potential for the successful solution of the indicated task. The theoretical legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, who laid the foundations of revolutionary social science, and the historical experience of the CPSU and the communist and workers' movement are a mighty foundation of scientific research and make it possible to get down to the very bottom of social phenomena. Soviet investigators of youth problems also have a solid organizational basis in the person of the scientific research centers and institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The problems of the international youth movement occupied a prominent place in the scientific research at Moscow, Leningrad and Tomsk state universities, the Institute of Social Sciences and the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, the Institute of the International

Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a number of other centers. The founding in 1976 of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee and the Public Council for the Coordination of Scientific Research on Problems of the Communist Education of Young People attached to the Komsomol Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences promoted a significant improvement of the organization of research and the concentration of the efforts of scholars on key problems of the development of the youth movement. The Department of Research on Problems of the International Youth Movement, which was formed within the center, has already performed some work in the area of historiography and source study,[16] has organized a number of "schools" and symposia, which have provided scholars working in this field with methods and tools of research and with source study materials. At present the department and the section "The International Youth Movement," which was set up on its basis, of the Public Coordinating Council jointly with the Sector of Contemporary Problems of the Department of the History of the International Communist Movement of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee are organizing an applied science conference of young scholars on the theory and methodology of research on youth problems.

At the same time, in order to successfully study the youth movement it is necessary to solve a number of scientific organizational questions. In particular, the members of the section "The International Youth Movement," who on the eve of 1980 discussed a specific program of research for the next five-year plan and a number of measures aimed at improving its coordination, indicated them. The meeting participants stressed the need to increase the attention toward the theoretical and methodological aspects of the research being conducted, as well as to source study problems.

Frequently in order to substantiate certain assumptions or others Soviet scholars have to use not research data proper, but their interpretation, which is offered by foreign press agencies. This requires the especially careful and repeated verification of the material, a critical approach to the research tools, its logic, methods and appraisals, in which, as a rule, the world views of its author are reflected.

However, unfortunately, we do not yet have enough of the mentioned sources. Moreover, the materials of foreign research come to our country with a considerable delay, which decreases the topicality of their scientific analysis. We do not have today a center, at which the information on the youth movement in the capitalist countries could be concentrated and which could receive it by way of exchange from abroad, could organize the circulation and acquaint Soviet scholars with it. The Higher Komsomol School or the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences could, in all probability, become such a center on the condition of the creation of special subdivisions within their structure.

The conceptual system, which is used in research work, also requires improvement. Thus, so far among Soviet scholars there is an obvious

disagreement in the definition of such a basic indicator as the age boundaries of young people. Some class with young people those people from 16-16 to 25 years old, others extend the upper limit of their age to 30, or else 45 years old. Here they are ignoring the data of anthropology, psychology, sociology and other sciences, which assert that somewhere around the age of 24-25 the processes, which are connected with the formation of a person's biophysical attributes and with the emergence of his psychological coordinates and social and world views, near completion for him. By that time for their most part people are taking part in production collectives, assuming the performance of basic social roles in society. During the indicated period the most important personality traits in fact are finally taking root.

Of course, in the capitalist world a young person often by the age of 14-16 is already "completing" his education and joins a labor collective and even "has time" to become unemployed. His youth as if ends at this age. But even in this case it is impossible not to take into account that the processes of his physical, psychological and social development are still continuing. We can speak about a certain completeness, wholeness of the personality only with allowance made for the interaction and comprehensive evaluation of all the attributes which characterize the individual.

The concept of the sociopolitical activeness of young people as applied to the conditions of capitalist reality also remains poorly elaborated in our literature. In the research on this problem one frequently has occasion to encounter the mechanical transfer of the term "social activeness" from the conditions of socialism to capitalism. Here such a generally accepted fact that social activeness can be both positive and negative, it would seem, is being ignored. Others reason that inasmuch as the alienation of a person, which results from the capitalist mode of production and the antagonism in the sphere of social relations, dominates in bourgeois society, one should speak only about political activeness. However, political activeness under the conditions of capitalism is quite different. It is hardly possible to consider it only in the terms "active" and "inactive" ("passive"). It is important to take into account first of all the orientation of the activeness itself: the actions of terrorist and ultraright groups, as well as the struggle for young people on the part of conservative youth organizations are also a manifestation of political activeness. Consequently, a concrete analysis of this phenomenon from a class standpoint, that is, a clear idea of what political activeness it is a matter of, the interests and ideology of what class it embodies, is necessary each time.

The determination of the criteria of the activeness of young people is no less important. A number of researchers express, for example, the opinion that the level of activeness should be determined with respect to the participation of certain groups and strata of young people or others in meetings, demonstrations and so on or with respect to their membership in specific organizations. It seems to us that, taken separately, neither approach can be considered exhaustive. It is well known that in the 1960's and early 1970's there were more student youth than others among the

participants in various demonstrations. But this does not at all mean that on the whole student youth in the capitalist countries are more active than working youth.

The identification of the criteria, according to which it would be possible to judge the activeness of various social groups, is also of great importance for practice. Indeed, what should be considered the decline of the movement, and what should be considered its upsurge? In the early 1970's under the influence of the student demonstrations of the late 1960's some researchers were inclined to believe that a nonconformist type of consciousness of young people was developing in the countries of the West and, in particular, in the United States "almost exclusively in the midst of the students."[17] The fascination with only the external aspect of protest at times overshadowed the main thing: no matter how valuable the radicalism of students is, it cannot replace or become a more important means of the struggle than the class struggle of the proletariat, including one of its detachments--young industrial workers. This question is raised precisely in this way in the new program of the Communist Party of the United States, which was published at the very height of the student demonstrations. While highly rating the role of students in the social struggle, the document emphasizes at the same time that in the degree and depth of influence on the institutions of American society it cannot be compared with the workers' movement, which is making the main challenge to the capitalist system. And young workers are occupying a more and more prominent place in this struggle. It is they--it is noted in the program--who "form the backbone of the movement and the demonstrations of the rank and file members of the trade unions."[18]

Contradictory assessments of the lessons and consequences of the youth demonstrations of the 1960's and early 1970's and of the new trends in the youth movement are contained in a number of works of Soviet researchers. Interpreting one-sidedly the economic and political conditions of the development of the activeness of the masses (the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, the worsening of the status of various categories of the population and so on) and ignoring concrete empirical data, which attest to the considerable intensification in the early 1970's of the strike struggle of the working class and the increasing involvement of young people in it, some authors write either about the decline as a whole of the activeness of young people and, in particular, students or about their temporary "retreat" to "prepare for a new, more thorough outburst" and so on.[19]

Can the decline of left radicalism and the collapse of the student organizations, which support the tactic of "provocational violence," and the reorganization in the student movement be considered a decrease of the activeness of students? Is it not more correct to speak here of a decline of the leftist sentiments in the student movement? Are not the reorganization of the student movement and the process of choosing clearer political aims a step forward in political development?

in this case, perhaps, the conclusion about a qualitatively new stage in the development of the political activeness of the students of the west would be more correct, since the "decline" and "demarcation," which occurred among them, took place in quite specific directions of the structure of the main political forces of the present, and a significant portion of this movement is heading toward the combination of its protest with the struggle of the main revolutionary detachments of the present.[20]

To be sure, the nature and intensity of the changes taking place in the youth movement are making the problem of studying them difficult. The new conditions also require a new approach to the analysis of many of the phenomena and trends inherent in it. The sociopolitical situation, which has formed in the past decade in the world as a whole and in its individual regions, along with the increase of the activeness of young people is also giving rise to a large number of contradictory phenomena. Thus, for example, the economic difficulties, which are being experienced by capitalism and have caused a worsening of the condition of the masses, including young people, do not necessarily automatically lead to the formation among them of a revolutionary democratic orientation. On the wave of the crisis the activity of all kinds of right-wing, fascist and neofascist forces is becoming animated; along with the increase of critical sentiments with respect to the capitalist system a conformist consciousness is also forming.

As an illustration let us cite such a component of the crisis as unemployment. According to statistical data, the highest percentage of the unemployed falls to young people not yet 20 years old, that is, that portion of them, who are just getting on their feet, have the necessary knowledge and are forming their moral principles. Unemployment at this age causes especially strong upheavals and emotional experiences and leads to the rejection by a significant mass of young people of a loyal attitude toward the prevailing socio-economic system. The realization of their superfluity to society causes an intensification of the protest of young people against its principles. The events of recent years attest that the struggle of young people for the right to work is acquiring in the capitalist countries a more and more acute and intense nature. However, a significant share of the young people are reacting differently to this phenomenon. Need and humiliation are leading them to despair and are giving rise to general apathy and sentiments of nonresistance.

Thus, the peculiarities of present-day socio-economic and political development have far from an unequivocal influence on the different strata and groups of young people. All this requires a dialectical examination, a more careful analysis of the sociopsychological peculiarities of the different groups and strata of young people. While criticizing the "generational approach" to the study of the problems of young people as one-sided, we cannot at the same time deny the existence of specific traits which are characteristic of them as a special sociodemographic group. Those researchers, who doubt the feasibility of emphasizing these characteristic traits of them, are hardly correct. To assign these questions to those which have been solved once and for always, are invariable and secondary, means to

approach the problem undialectically. Young people, like any other social group, are not some frozen formation. Some of their characteristics change in the course of historical development, which is responsible for the emergence of special traits in the behavior of this category of the population and in its way of life.

To be sure, much of what has to be done in the area of the study in our country of the problems of young people in the West depends first of all on scholars themselves, on the extent of their responsibility and their ability to approach dialectically the analysis of what is happening. At the same time, as a field of science which is just forming (and for the present one should speak only in this way about research on the international youth movement) it requires increased attention and support on the part of the interested state and scientific institutions.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Perechen' dissertatsiy po problemam mezhdunarodnogo molodezhnogo dvizheniya i internatsional'nykh svyazey Leninskogo komsomola" /A List of Dissertations on Problems of the International Youth Movement and the International Contacts of the Leninist Komsomol/, Moscow, 1977; "Istoriografiya mezhdunarodnogo molodezhnogo dvizheniya" /Historiography of the International Youth Movement/, edited by V. P. Moshnyagi, Moscow, 1977.

2. See "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 27.

3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 34, pp 383-384.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 7, p 343.

5. "Sotsial'naya aktivnost' molodezhi i kommunisty" /The Social Activeness of Young People and Communists/, Prague, 1975, p 42.

6. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 7, p 344.

7. Ibid., p 347.

8. L'HUMANITE, 30 May 1975.

9. See LE MONDE, 9 March 1979.

10. See NEW YORK TIMES, 13 December 1976.

11. See DAILY WORLD, 3 July 1978.

12. See WORLD STUDENT NEWS, Vol 30, No 5-6, 1976, p 2.

13. "Konferentsiya kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy Yevropy" /Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe/, Moscow, 1977, p 22.

14. See "Sotsial'naya aktivnost' molodezhi i kommunisty," p 8.

15. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS," p 73.

16. See "Istoriografiya mezhdunarodnogo molodezhnogo dvizheniya" /Historiography of the International Youth Movement/, Moscow, 1977; "Mezhdunarodnoye molodezhnoye dvizheniye" /The International Youth Movement/, edited by V. P. Moshnyagi and Ye. I. Kosenko, Moscow, 1979; "Problemy istochnikovedeniya mezhdunarodnogo molodezhnogo dvizheniya" /Problems of the Source Study of the International Youth Movement/, edited by V. P. Moshnyagi, Moscow, 1979.

17. See VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 12, 1972, p 92.

18. "The New Program of the Communist Party of the United States," SSHA: EKONOMIKA, POLITIKA, IDEOLOGIYA, No 11, 1970, p 70.

19. See "Levoye studencheskoye dvizheniye v stranakh kapitala" /The Leftist Student Movement in the Capitalism Countries/, Moscow, 1976, p 30.

20. See I. I. Lunev, "Program Documents of the Communist Parties of the Capitalist Countries on the Problems of the Youth Movement," "Kommunisty i problemy sovremennogo molodezhnogo dvizheniya" /Communists and the Problems of the Current Youth Movement/, Moscow, 1976, pp 127-128.

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CSO: 1806

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL WORK (FROM THE MEETING OF THE SECTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 186-192

/Article by I. T. Levykin and B. A. Babin/

/Text/ The meeting of the Section of Social Sciences of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was held in January 1980, was devoted to questions of sociological studies of the problems of ideological and political educational work as one of the main directions of scientific activity, which ensue from the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work."

Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the Section of Social Sciences of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician N. P. Fedosyuev conducted the meeting. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin, director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor I. I. Sigov, director of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences, delivered the main reports.

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin in his report emphasized that the collective of the Institute of Sociological Research at present is concentrating its efforts on the preparation of materials for the 26th CPSU Congress, including the elaboration of theoretical and methodological problems and practical recommendations, which are connected with the increase of the effectiveness of ideological and political educational work. Thus, the attitude toward labor of various groups of workers, the means of increasing the effectiveness of socialist competition and the interaction of the material and moral stimulation of labor are being studied in the Department of Social Planning and Management. The studies of problems of education, which are being conducted by the Department of Social Structure, made it possible to identify the changes in the orientations of young people toward various types of occupational activity, toward the obtaining of a higher, secondary specialized, correspondence and

evening education. The staff members of the Department of Sociological Research on Ideological Processes for the past four years have been engaged in the study of the objective and subjective factors in communist education, the role and place of public organizations in the development of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of workers and the effectiveness of ideological educational work in labor collectives. The obtained data describe the attitude of various groups of the population toward the means of mass information and propaganda.

During the period since the 25th CPSU Congress the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences has conducted about 30 applied studies of public opinion, the majority of which were performed on the assignment of directive organs, central party newspapers and republic and local party organizations. Especially valuable information was obtained as a result of an all-union survey of the readers of the newspaper PRAVDA, an all-Russian survey of the subscribers of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the poll "Muscovites on the 1980 Olympics."

The increased scale of the studies should be noted. Thus, the PRAVDA survey covered 10,000 people. The study of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of workers was conducted in 145 labor collectives of Moscow, Kiev, Minsk, cities of the Urals and Central Asia; during it 8,000 people were surveyed. In connection with the study of the process of the convergence of the working class and the intelligentsia under the conditions of the mature socialist society 10,000 people were surveyed. The results of the sociological study of the effectiveness of communist education, which was conducted by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, were used in preparing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Accomplishment by the Orsk City Committee of the CPSU of a Comprehensive Solution of Questions of Ideological Educational Work." A major study on problems of the ideological and political education of the engineering and technical intelligentsia was conducted by the institute jointly by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the Krasnodarskiy and Primorskiy kray committees, the Chuvashskaya and Gor'kovskaya oblast committees of the CPSU.

Sociology is faced with the task of a thorough, scientifically sound analysis of the influence of the socio-economic situation in the country on the consciousness and behavior of people, the identification of the influence of the scientific and technical revolution, ecology and energy problems on the evaluations, opinions and behavior of various categories of workers. The examination of the dialectics of the equality and inequality of people in the system of social relations at the stage of mature socialism and the elaboration of the problem of the formation of reasonable needs, as Politburo Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. A. Suslov noted in a report at the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, should become of the leading direction of this work. In this connection the need is arising for the theoretical and methodological elaboration of the theme "Economics, Needs, Education."

One of the main tasks of Marxist-Leninist sociology is the elaboration of the urgent problems which constitute the theoretical content of propaganda and agitation. Among them are the movement of society toward social homogeneity, the development of the socialist way of life, labor, daily life, culture and public consciousness. The questions of the interaction of objective and subjective factors in the formation of a comprehensively developed individual also belong to this group of problems.

Theoretical and methodological questions of the study of educational work in collectives, the educational functions of the labor collective and the educational consequences of economic activity belong to the important directions of research in the area of ideology.

Finally, another group of research tasks is connected with the elaboration of theoretical and methodological problems of the analysis of ideological processes at different levels of the social organization of Soviet society on the basis of a comprehensive approach to the entire system of education.

In conclusion T. V. Ryabushkin noted that at present skilled staffs of sociologists, who are engaged in the study of problems of ideological work, are working in the scientific subdivisions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, party, Komsomol and trade union organizations, the Scientific Research Institute of Radio and Television, the Scientific Research Institute of Art History and Culture of the USSR Ministry of Culture, the Scientific Research Institute of Goskino, in the sociological subdivisions attached to universities and other higher educational institutions. But there are substantial shortcomings in their work: minor themes, the duplication of scientific research, the unjustified increase of the periods for the processing of empirical information, the unrepresentativeness of many studies, the lack of standard methods. All this is leading to the dispersal of state assets and is decreasing appreciably the scientific value and practical importance of the work being performed.

The main means of overcoming the indicated shortcomings is the organization of an effective system of the coordination of sociological research, the changeover to the extensive conducting of large-scale (all-union and regional) studies and to the higher quality fulfillment of the assignments of party and state organs.

Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor I. I. Sigov dwelled on one of the key problems of ideological work--the elaboration of an active position in life as an important condition of the formation of the new man, personality development and the improvement of the socialist way of life.

In scientific literature an unambiguous interpretation of the concept "an active position of the individual in life" has not yet been formed. The debates on this question have revealed a large number of approaches to the distinction of the specific traits of a socially active position. The speaker proceeded from the fact that this concept includes both the system of views of a person and his practical activity, first of all labor and sociopolitical activity.

Thus, the formation among workers of an active position in life acts as an important factor of the increase of production efficiency, which is of no less importance than the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. At the present stage the increase of the quality of work, which is inseparably connected with the increase of the labor activeness of the Soviet people, is becoming one of the necessary conditions for offsetting the shortage of manpower resources.

The active position of an individual in life is not only a factor of economic progress, but also one of the manifestations of the improvement of the socialist way of life, which is inseparably connected with the gradual development of socialist democracy. All this makes it possible to conclude that the concept of an active position of an individual in life concentrates in itself the most important economic and social problems of mature socialism.

Owing to the fact that mass sociological studies have been conducted quite extensively in Leningrad since the early 1950's, the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences has abundant information on the most different aspects of the life of the population. It should be especially emphasized that a system of representative expeditious public opinion polls of the working residents of the city, by means of which data are gathered, processed and submitted for study in one day, was organized beginning in 1970 under the direct supervision of the oblast party committee by the efforts of the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, but now one of the subdivisions of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

One of the peculiarities of our dynamic society consists in the continuous increase of the needs of the people. The follow-up surveys of various strata of the population, which are conducted periodically in Leningrad, indicate the active increase of the aspirations to display one's individuality in the most different spheres of vital activity. The development of the needs of people, which is outpacing the objective possibilities of meeting them, is a natural process, one of the factors of social progress, a mighty stimulus to human activity. At the same time it is here, I. I. Sigov noted, that the guiding influence of the system of our social organization and communist education is especially important.

Regular surveys of public opinion make it possible to identify some important trends. At the same time it should be noted that the data of a considerable share of the public opinion studies being conducted in our country are not made public, which restricts the possibility of actively influencing the views of people on the most urgent questions. In our society, to all appearances, the conditions are ripe to improve this activity fundamentally and to lend it a nature which meets the requirements of the latest decrees of the CPSU Central Committee.

The speaker reported that during the 11th Five-Year Plan an increase of the orientation of sociological research in the direction of the problems of an active position of the individual in life under the conditions of mature socialism is being planned at the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

There was a discussion on the reports of T. V. Ryabushkin and I. I. Sigov, in which the urgent problems of the theory and practice of ideological and political educational work and the further increase of its effectiveness and quality were touched upon.

Candidate of Historical Sciences L. N. Dobrokhotov, chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU of Moscow, shared his experience of joint work with the scholars of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the study of the public opinion of the workers of Oktyabr'skiy Rayon of the capital. The Council for the Social Development of Collectives of Workers and Public Opinion, which has conducted four major sociological studies in labor collectives of the rayon, was set up in the rayon party committee and has been operating for two years under the supervision of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

One of these studies, which was devoted to the study of the work on the formation of a scientific materialistic world outlook and atheistic propaganda, was conducted at the Machine Tool Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze and the Krasnyy tekstil'shchik Factory.

A study of the problem of the ideological and political education of the scientific and technical intelligentsia was conducted at the State Scientific Research and Design Institute of Alloys and the Processing of Nonferrous Metals and the Institute of Geology of Mineral Deposits, Petrography, Mineralogy and Geochemistry of the USSR Academy of Sciences, moreover a comprehensive study of this problem in 40 scientific collectives is being planned.

L. N. Dobrokhotov noted that sociological studies helped to reveal many serious gaps in the organization of ideological educational work among various categories of workers, while their results were used extensively in practical work, particularly in the holding of party meetings for the discussion of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," and were a significant help to the rayon ideological aktiv. Now the question of broadening the problems of sociological studies is being raised, a study, for example, of the possible means of facilitating the labor of working women and of increasing the shift coefficient of equipment at the enterprises of the rayon is being planned.

Since 1978, Chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Chuvashskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU M. V. Shutin reported, a Public Council for the Study of Public Opinion, in which five sections work, has been operating in the Chuvashskaya Oblast Party Committee. The studies conducted

jointly with the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences have helped to reveal a number of shortcomings in the ideological educational work and to take steps to eliminate them. In 1980 it is planned to conduct a number of sociological studies on the investigation of problems of labor, daily life, relations in the family, the enhancement of the role of labor collectives in fighting offenses and the social development of the countryside. The speaker noted that an important role in increasing the effectiveness and quality of party work belongs to sociological research and that the Chuvashskaya ASSR, on the territory of which there are all-union construction projects, the Cheboksarskaya GES is being built and new large labor collectives are being set up, needs its own sociological center.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Zh. T. Toshchenko, head of the Chair of Ideological Work of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, indicated one of the important functions of sociological research--its orientation toward the solution of urgent problems of management and its use in administrative activity. Sociological research functions as a component of the scientific and practical activity of all management organs in our society and is becoming widespread in the practice of party work.

A number of major sociological studies have been conducted within the Academy of Social Sciences. In 1977 the study by sociological methods of the all-union discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution covered 48 cities in 16 republics, krays and oblasts of the country (140,000 people). In 1978 a study covering 10,000 people was conducted during the preparation for the All-Union Applied Science Conference on Moral Education.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor A. D. Kosichev, dean of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, drew the attention of the participants in the meeting to the fact that for the present there are not enough special scientific institutions which are studying the problems of social development. The time has come when at a works social services should exist along with economic, technical and other services. Whereas previously the regulation of social processes was accomplished through economic planning and a change in social relations occurred as a result of economic changes, now socio-economic planning should be carried out with allowance made for social factors. Work on communist education and the study of public opinion are impossible without the use of the results of concrete sociological studies. Therefore the time has come to raise the entire system of training of sociological personnel to a higher level.

At this moment the specialization of sociology has been introduced at a number of universities. According to the data of the Soviet Sociological Association, more than 40 scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which are engaged in sociological research, and about 200 sociological laboratories in the system of higher education are in operation in the country. In the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University the

Chair of Methods of Concrete Social Research is working actively and dissertations on sociology are being defended. However, 91.5 percent of the people working in the sphere of sociology do not have a special education, since the graduates of the Philosophy and Economics Faculties cannot be regarded as specialists in applied sociology. The specialty "applied sociology" is absent in the list of specialties of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. It is necessary to solve this problem.

A great shortcoming is the fact that the staff positions of sociologist do not exist in all the ministries and departments, they do not know everywhere, what these specialists are needed for, at times they reject them. It is possible to change the existing situation by means of the centralized organization of sociological services in all the ministries and departments.

In her speech Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Ye. D. Mordzhinskaya (the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences) noted the large amount of diverse work, which has been done in recent years by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. At the same time, in her opinion, T. V. Ryabushkin should have told in more detail about how the tasks, which are connected with the elaboration of a long-term social forecast (up to 1990), the studies of the social structure of Soviet society and the development of methods of social planning, are being solved.

In speaking about the cooperation of the scientific community and party organs of Gor'kiy with the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. G. Mordkovich (Gor'kiy Polytechical Institute) told about some major joint studies, in accordance with the results of which important recommendations, which are being used in the practical activity of party organs, were elaborated. Among them are the studies of the public opinion of the workers of Gor'kiy and Gor'kovskaya Oblast, the effectiveness of ideological work among engineering and technical personnel and others. One of the bottlenecks in this activity is the processing of sociological information, which for the present still requires large expenditures of time.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. N. Ivanov, chief of a department of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, spoke about the significant strengthening in recent years of the contacts of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences with party organs, about the urgent need for the generalization of the considerable experience of conducting sociological studies not only in our country, but also on the scale of the entire socialist community.

Corresponding Member of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Ye. M. Babosov, director of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, noted the need for the concentration of the efforts of sociologists and social psychologists in the matter of the drafting of comprehensive plans of economic and social development, as well as two comprehensive programs ("The Improvement of Ideological Educational Work in

Belorussia" and "The Ways to Meet Spiritual and Material Needs at the Stage of Mature Socialism"), which are being implemented on the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, and a system of social indicators of the development of the republic during the 11th Five-Year Plan. He dwelled on the question, which A. D. Kosichev raised, about the training of sociological personnel in the country and cited the experience of the Belorussian State University, at which the training of specialists in applied sociology has been carried out for five years with the active assistance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia. Moscow State University should be an example in this important matter.

Academician Secretary of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician A. G. Yegorov emphasized that the problem of the individual, the formation of his needs, the development of abilities and moral character is a complex problem, which requires the integration of the efforts of scholars. The Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences has gained substantial experience in concrete studies, which requires study and creative application. This pertains first of all to the study of public opinion, the influence of the media on the representatives of various social strata, the use of free time, instruction and education at the higher school and others. The contact of the institute with party and soviet organs is being strengthened.

At the same time the tasks, which were set forth in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" and in the report of Comrade M. A. Suslov at the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, require the stepping up of the research activity of sociology scholars. This especially concerns the development of systems of indicators of socio-economic effectiveness as applied to the various spheres of social life. For the present the state of the measurement of needs, especially spiritual needs, cannot be satisfying, the criteria of ideological work are being studied inadequately. An acute need is being felt for the conducting of basic research, by means of which party organs could solve the major practical problems which are connected, for example, with the increase of labor efficiency and with the development of socialist democracy. Here it is necessary to strive not for an increase of the number of studies, but for an increase of their quality. A large number of works are devoted to the use of free time, while considerable less attention is being devoted to the use of working time. The solution of such an important problem as forecasting is proceeding very slowly.

An important place should be assigned to questions of methodology and methods. Methods techniques, including mathematical techniques, can yield the desired results only if they are used in conformity with Marxist-Leninist methodology.

Social science is dynamic; in its development an important role belongs to empirical studies, which can be skillfully generalized theoretically. In this sense the experience of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences merits attention and dissemination. The work on

the elaboration of proposals, which concern the improvement of the activity of the leading sociological organization and the creation of an All-Union Sociological Service, has been completed by the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences. These questions will be the subject of a separate discussion.

Academician Yu. V. Bromley, director of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, directed the attention of the conference participants to an essential aspect of ideological and political educational work--internationalistic education. Here he emphasized two things: first, the international does not exist without the national, therefore the study of internationalistic education and internationalistic consciousness should be conducted at the same time as the study of national consciousness, not separately from it. Second, not only a knowledge of the general principles of internationalism, but also the extent to which internationalistic ideas have become the standard of behavior of people, that is, have permeated social psychology are important. At the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences studies are already being conducted in this direction on the scale of the country and its individual regions--Estonia, Moldavia, Georgia, Uzbekistan and a number of regions of the RSFSR. On the average the size of the sample for each republic is 10,000 people. During the study a link of the aims in the area of international relations, particular with respect to work in a mixed national collective and to mixed national marriages, with a large number of factors was established, which makes it possible to determine the ways of controlling the process of elaborating such aims.

Summarizing the discussion, Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences P. N. Fedosyaev emphasized that the begun year of 1980 is noteworthy first of all as the year of the completion of the five-year plan and the preparation for the next party congress and accordingly the drafting of the new five-year plan and the main directions of the economic and social development of society for the next 10 years and the completion of the drafting of the comprehensive programs of scientific and technical progress and its social consequences for 20 years. All these tasks should be taken into account by the scientific institutions of the Section of Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences, especially the Institute of Sociological Research and the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the planning of their work.

The Section of Social Sciences is faced with two large groups of questions. One of them is connected with the problem of the further development of the national economy of the country, the improvement of planning and management, the other is aimed at the development of social relations, the spiritual life of society, the communist education, formation and molding of the new man. On all these questions scholars should submit concrete materials for the Comprehensive Program, for the main directions of the economic and social development of society, as well as for the preparation for the party congress. Attention should be devoted to the development of social indicators and to the tallying of the results for these indicators, for the

elaboration of the scientific principles of the forecasting of social and ideological processes.

P. N. Fedoseyev noted that the speakers at the meeting had correctly indicated the special feature of sociological studies at this stage, which consists in the fact that they are being conducted jointly with party organs. This has lent sociological studies definiteness and stability. Many of the errors, which were made when conducting them in the past, are explained precisely by the fact that they were of an independent nature and therefore were justly criticized. In general it is unthinkable to conduct studies of public opinion, the influence of ideological means and so forth without the participation of party organs. The party, in having 17 million communists and 400,000 primary party organizations, has enormous opportunities for the detailed study of public opinion. Primarily the scientific development of the methodology and methods of conducting the studies is required here of sociologists. From the speeches of the participants in the meeting it is evident that sociologists are giving real assistance to party organizations in this direction. However, the level of the existing methods of sociological studies, including of public opinion, is low.

Tallying some results of what has been done in the area of concrete sociological studies, it is possible to note their broad scope. At the same time the analysis of the materials of the studies and the conclusions drawn on their basis are still not thorough enough. We cannot confine ourselves to social photography, which is necessary, but in itself is only a prerequisite of an analysis, the elaboration of conclusions and recommendations and the making of decisions. This analytical and practical part of the work so far has not turned out very well for us.

In speaking about the direction of sociological studies, P. N. Fedoseyev singled out as the main thing the study of labor and public activity. When we speak about an active position of a person in life, we mean that this activeness is mainfested first of all at the works in the social life of the labor collective. The direction is the key issue of sociological studies.

Unfortunately, the activity of sociologists is still poorly coordinated, as a result the duplication of studies is occurring and incomparable methods are being used. Much still needs to be put right, but the main thing in the examination of questions of the expansion of sociological institutions is to elaborate a uniform approach to sociological studies and their organization.

An acute and major problem is the training of sociological personnel, first of all at universities. Its solution has been checked as a result of the lack of the appropriate programs and textbooks. Now it depends on the preparation of proposals on this question for managerial organs.

In accordance with the discussed reports and speeches of the participants in the meeting a decree was adopted, in which, in particular, it is noted

that multilevel studies of ideological and political educational work, which are being undertaken in close contact with central and local party, soviet and Komsomol organs, the editorial boards of central and local newspapers, radio and television and other ideological institutions, are being conducted by the scientific subdivisions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences of the union republics. The conducted studies promoted the elaboration and scientific substantiation of measures on the further improvement of ideological and political educational work in the country. At the same time it is necessary to achieve an increase of the scale of the studies, the increase of their quality and efficiency, the more thorough analysis and timely introduction of the results of the studies in practice, the improvement of planning and the coordination of the activity of the sociological subdivisions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, ministries and departments. A number of specific measures, which are aimed at the further increase of the theoretical level and practical importance of the studies of ideological and political educational work and at the improvement of the system of training of sociological personnel, are outlined in the decree.

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THIRD SOVIET-HUNGARIAN SYMPOSIUM 'MAN OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND MASS COMMUNICATION PROCESSES'

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 192-194

/Article by V. V. Maksimov/

/Text/ The Soviet-Hungarian Symposium "Man of Socialist Society and Mass Communication Processes" was held in Budapest on 17-23 September 1979 in conformity with the problem and thematic plan of scientific cooperation in the field of the social sciences between the scientific institutions of the USSR and Hungary for 1976-1980. During its work four groups of questions were touched upon: 1) general problems of the forecasting of the development of the mass communication system; 2) the forecasting of the content of information in the mass communication system; 3) the socio-economic conditions of the elaboration of forecasts of the development of the mass communication system; 4) systems of indices and indicators for the forecasting of mass communications.

Opening the symposium, (T. Sechke), director of the Scientific Center for the Study of Mass Communications of Hungarian Radio and Television, stressed that the long-range forecasting of mass communications is necessary for the elaboration of the policy of radio and television programs of Hungary up to 2000. The speaker dwelled especially on the description of the features of long-range thinking and in this connection on the organization of cooperation between researchers and practical workers of the mass communication system, the extensive discussion of already prepared forecasts.

Continuing the idea of (T. Sechke), Z. Yakob, chief of the Department of Long-Range Forecasting, noted that the aspiration to draft long-range plans and forecasts is becoming a stable trend in the sphere of social, especially ideological planning and management. However, their achievement is encountering a number of difficulties: first, there is the rapid obsolescence of plans and forecasts, particularly as a result of the accelerated development of the means of mass communications, second, the lack of coordination, the discreteness of the processes of the production of the means of mass communications, on the one hand, and the dissemination of mass information as such, on the other. The latter in many ways is connected with

the ambiguous interpretation of such a fundamental question as the interrelationship of information and communications, the interdependence of the processes of the development of the mass communication system as a system of the means and methods of conveying information and at the same time as a system of information proper, which is disseminated by these means.

In this connection it was emphasized at the symposium that in elaborating long-range forecasts of mass communications the optimum proportions of the three main "elements" of planning--the operational, the tactical and the strategic--should be observed, since here not only the macrosocial goals, but also the requirements of effectiveness and planning, as well as the dynamics of individual information needs find their reflection.

As a result of the changed correlations of information and communications society is faced with a set of problems, which can be defined as the "lack of information" (V. Maksimov). This concerns first of all information on the structure and content of that mass information, which meets to the greatest extent the goals and tasks of the building of a socialist society in each country.

The change in the functions of mass communications, it was noted in the report of B. Firsov and V. Losenkov, is governed by the change in the correlation between the content of information, the means and forms of its conveyance, which the mass communication system offers, and the increasing, constantly updated public and individual information needs. At the present stage this inevitably leads to the specialization of the mass communication system. The authors of the report stressed the importance of the distinction on this level of two types of functions of the mass communication system--"function-goals," which ensure the achievement of the general goals of the development of this social system, and "function-means," which form within the mass communication system in response to social changes. As the role of the subjective factors of social development in society increases, the diversity of the "function-means" increases.

The institutions proper of the mass communication system formed and are being developed today as "institution-means," since of the total amount of information, which circulates in society, only a certain portion of it is realized through the mass communication system. On this level the correlation of the influence of the mass communication system and the noninstitutional sources of social information, which are combined in the category "rumors," is attracting the close attention of researchers. As a rule, the population is interested most of all in information on the events and problems which directly and immediately influence everyday life. If the organs of mass information reduce the amount of such information, "rumors" begin to offset their functions in this respect.

As to the interest of the population in information on foreign political events, it is governed to a considerable extent by how extensively these events are covered in the mass communication system, how intensively the interest in them is "cultivated" by the press itself, television and radio (G. Lazar).

(A. Hankis) devoted her report to the analysis of the latent influence of the content of mass information. She proposed a typology of the stereotypes of behavior and the interpretation of reality, which form in the everyday vital activity of people under the influence of the mass communication system. The aims, self-appraisals and expectations, which form in the structure of such stereotypes, when faced with reality can serve as the basis for the emergence of inadequate forms of behavior, as a source of conflict situations and neurotic states of the individual.

A selective attitude and the insusceptibility of a person to mass information of one content or another due to a specific stable orientation of his personality play a significant role in this case (A. Alekseyev and S. Minakova). It is obvious that the analysis of the latent meanings of the content of mass information should be regarded as an integral part not only of the process of forecasting of the mass communication system, but also of the daily work of the organs of mass communications.

The report of B. Firsov and B. Doktorov was devoted to the analysis of the "forecasting background" of planning. It is formed first of all on the basis of the socio-economic structure, in which the consumers of mass information interact with the mass communication system and in the "midst" of which this mass communication system functions. In the speeches of the Hungarian scholars on this theme the main interest was focused on the appraisals by people of their own material status and on the opinions about the economic situation in the country ([R. Angelus), (N. L. Geze), (R. Tardos]), which play an important role in the formation of public opinion.

Another essential part of the "forecasting background" is culture (in the broad sense of this word), the development of which makes its own special demands on the functioning of the mass communication system. This pertains first of all to the interrelations of the traditional forms of culture and new formations in the sphere of spiritual production, which form on the basis of modern technical means of communications and mass communications ([K. Hanak]).

The symposium showed that the number of unsolved problems of the forecasting of mass communications for the present is still increasing at an anticipatory rate as compared with the efforts which are being undertaken to solve them. The questions of the division and cooperation of labor both within the organs of the mass communication system and between the individual types of the mass communication system--television and radio, the theater and the movies--have been far from adequately studied.

The symposium participants were unanimous in the high rating of its importance to applied science and expressed satisfaction with the precise organization of its work. The next, Fourth Symposium "Man of Socialist Society and Mass Communication Processes" will be held in Leningrad in 1980. Its central theme will be the strategy of studies of mass communication processes.

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CHILD AND FAMILY IN A CHANGING WORLD

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 194-196

/Article by M. G. Pankratova/

/Text/ The International Seminar "Child and Family in a Changing World" was held in Helsinki in November 1979. Scholars from the majority of European countries, as well as Turkey, Canada and the United States took part in it.

Finnish Minister of Education K. Kivisto and Chairman of the Committee for the Study of the Family of the International Sociological Association (V. Stolte-Heiskanen) spoke at the plenary session. Moreover, the session heard the report of (K. D. Saal) (the Netherlands) "A Historical and Modern View of the Status of a Child in the Family and Society," the report of A. G. Kharchev and M. G. Pankratova (USSR) "The Family as a Factor of Personality Development Under Socialism" and the report of E. Gronset (Norway) "The Bio-Psycho-Socio-Economic Approach of Wilhelm Reich to the Problem of the Child and Family in Social Development."

Theoretical and methodological developments and the results of empirical studies were discussed at the section meetings. Finnish scholars E. Haavio-Mannila and (K. Kari) offered for the attention of the seminar participants their own interpretation of the plan of the international study "The Change in Models of the Family," which is being prepared by the Vienna Center, as applied to four northern countries. C. Maas (the Netherlands) told about the plan of a multi-aspectual study of the young people of the Netherlands, which includes the study of the indicators of well-being, aims and value orientations. In it, as in many other reports, it was stated that the crisis of the capitalist system is affecting the immediate conditions of the vital activity of the child.

Analyzing the psychological workings of the different progress of children in Finnish schools, (A. Hautamyaki) used the concept "the zone of immediate development," which was introduced by well-known Soviet scholar L. S. Vygotskiy. In conformity with the Vygotskiy-Leont'yev theory of activity, in determining the opportunities for the mastery by a child of certain

concepts of others, it is itself linked with the social status of the parents, of which their education, skills and occupational employment act as indicators.

H. Jansen (the Netherlands) examined the questions of socialization somewhat differently. He established, in particular, a tendency toward the convergence of two approaches in the study of the external (social) dependence of socialization in the family: from the point of view of psychiatric sociology and from the standpoint of the sociology of education. The occupational activity of the representatives of the lowest strata of society is not conducive to the development in them of a sense of independence, of confidence in their own powers. The poverty of the conditions of their existence as a whole limits the opportunities for the formation of the cognitive abilities of children, which leads, on the one hand, to a lag in studies and, on the other, to a greater risk of mental illnesses.

The report of M.-L. den Bandt (the Netherlands) was devoted to the analysis of the trends in the training of children for the performance in the future of male and female roles in the family and to the changes in the social appraisal of voluntary childlessness. Her studies showed that among Dutch school children the traditional notions about male and female roles, including motherhood, have been preserved. However, the change of public opinion with respect to motherhood and voluntary childlessness is becoming more and more appreciable, which is connected first of all with the progressive involvement of women in occupational activity and various types of social activity. Thus, whereas in 1965 voluntary childlessness was approved by only 21.8 percent of those surveyed, in 1974 it was approved by 64 percent. These data accord with the conclusion made by T. Nikkonen (Finland) in the report "The Life Path of the Family and the Individual." In the opinion of the scholar, "voluntarily childless couples do not feel the pressure of public opinion, which could force them to revise their position in the direction of having children." In this connection the suggestion is being made that in "western society" more and more women will choose a "free," that is, childless, life style.

The report of W. Schultz (Austria) "The Child and the System of Values in the Family" was devoted to the identification of the systems of value orientations, which promote and hinder the development of positive reproductive aims. His studies showed that, in spite of the changes noted by many authors in the value orientations of young people as compared with the older generation, the positive aims toward childbirth are expresse quite clearly. At the same time there are grounds to claim that the conflict between the opportunities, which are afforded by the "new life style," and the value of a child will increase.

A comparative international study, which was conducted in Turkey, Japan, Thailand, the United States, Taiwan and the Philippines, was the basis of the report of (S. Kagitsibasi) (Turkey) "The Aim at Support of Parents by Children in Old Age and Development." According to his results, in the hierarchy of the motives of reproductive behavior the motive of both the

economic and psychology support of elderly parents by children holds the highest position, and it is most characteristic of societies with a relatively low level of economic development, in which a system of retirement security is practically absent.

The majority of speakers in one way or another touched upon the question of the stability of the family and divorces, which in recent times has become very acute. According to the data of L. Suominen, in the 1950's couples without children accounted for approximately one-third of the divorces in Finland, in the 1970's such divorces make up only 25 percent, that is, the number of children, who suffer from the disorganization of the family, is increasing. T. Jacobs (Belgium), author of the report "Some Remarks Concerning the Study of the Consequences of Divorce for Children," established that not only the divorce in itself, but also the means, by which it is accomplished, influence the formation of the personality of a child and the conditions of his life. A divorce in this connection can be regarded as a situation which yields to control, while its negative consequences are reduced to a minimum.

The problem of the deviant behavior of children depending on the type of region and the way of life of the family was also discussed at the seminar. In the report of M. A. Salo (Finland) "Is a Child Lovable or Hated? Theoretical Prospects of the Poor Treatment of Children and Fertility" the prevalence of physical abuse of children in the developed capitalist countries was linked with the negative aims of parents toward childbirth.

The instability of the modern family and the increase connected with this in the number of illegitimate births have faced society with serious legal problems. They were covered in the report of (K. Aromaa) and others (Finland) "The Legal Consequences of the New Forms of the Family for the Child," B. Linnen (Sweden) "There Should Be No Illegitimate Children" and J. Trost (Sweden) "Joint Child Custody." They all proceeded from the need not so much for the reduction of illegitimate births, as for the search for a legal alternative to the "traditional family" and the determination of its role in the socialization of children.

The questions of the increase of the psychological and social influence on the family situation, of the increase of the effectiveness of family services, the formation among parents of proper aims with respect to the health of children, the prevention of the harmful influence on a child's body of alcohol and narcotics, which are consumed by parents, attracted the attention of the seminar participants.

In spite of the fact that a number of problems, which are connected with a change in the models of families, the birth and rearing of children, are specific to capitalist society or appear there in aggravated form, some trends, which were caused by industrialization, technical progress, urbanization and the increase of the living standard of the population, appear in all highly developed countries. The already mentioned report of A. G. Kharchev and M. G. Pankratova (USSR) was devoted to the peculiarities of

the appearance of these trends under the conditions of socialism and of their influence on the family, the birth rate and family rearing. The new positive trends in family rearing under socialism were analyzed in the report of R. Walter (GDR). One of them is the closer and closer cooperation between the family, the school, public organizations and labor collectives.

The influence of structural changes in the society of modern Poland on the standard changes in family relations, marital expectations and the concepts of male and female family roles was examined in the report of J. Mogey (United States) and J. Piotrowski (Poland). The report of (S. Komlozi) was devoted to the analysis of systems of value orientations of parents in Hungary.

The 17th international seminar showed the need for the performance of interdisciplinary systems studies of the problems of the family and afforded an opportunity for the sharing of experience in the area of the practical use of the results of scientific work in the interests of the strengthening of the family, the increase of the level of the birth rate, the psychological and moral health of children.

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PERM'. SYMPOSIUM ON THE PROBLEM OF FORECASTING SOCIALLY TYPICAL PERSONALITY TRAITS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 196-198

/Article by S. I. Kordon/

/Text/ The All-Russian Seminar on Problems of Forecasting Socially Typical Personality Traits, which was organized by the Chair of Scientific Communism and the Sociology Laboratory of Perm' Polytechnical Institute jointly with the Perm' affiliate of the Urals Branch of the Soviet Sociological Association and the Permskaya Oblast Council of the Scientific and Technical Society, was held in the fall of 1979 in Perm'.

Three main problems were discussed at the seminar: the connection of the forecasting of the personality with the process of its formation and the planning of its development; the possibilities of forecasting personality traits from the point of view of the general theory of social forecasting; the connection of the forecasting of social personality traits with the typology of these traits.

Z. I. Faynburg (Perm') delivered the report on the first problem--"Methodological Problems of Forecasting Typical Social Personality Traits." In his opinion, the possibility of forecasting personality traits has been proven by the possibility of forecasting society. However, the speaker noted, the lag of social forecasting behind the vital needs of the present, as well as the inadequate study of the mechanism of the formation of personality are hindering the development of such forecasting. Z. I. Faynburg indicated the danger of transforming one-sided forecasting into the actual manipulation of the personality under conditions when mighty means of influencing a person are concentrated under the control of society, while his inherent traits, interests and needs are still being inadequately taken into account in the planning of social processes. Precisely personality planning is the only means of eliminating its manipulation.

I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada (Moscow) opposed some of the assumptions of the report of Z. I. Faynburg. Personality, he asserted, cannot be forecast, but can only be studied and investigated. In order to forecast and plan the

individual, it is necessary to construct a system of indicators of the external factors of influence on a person. As to personality, it is possible only to create for it the conditions of the best social choice.

V. A. Yadov (Leningrad) recalled that in sociology three models of personality are distinguished: the ideal, the standard and the real. The standard personality model, that is, the one which must be created right now, should be considered the base model. This is the socialist type of personality, which is characterized by a set of such traits as public and production activeness, an orientation toward creative activity, initiative.

M. S. Kogan (Leningrad) disagreed with V. A. Yadov. The forecasting and planning of the ideal personality model, in his opinion, are the most important task of the general social strategy of personality. It is necessary to merge in a single process the forecasting of the development and the planning of the ideal personality model.

V. V. Orlov (Perm') dwelled on the methodological principles of personality forecasting. If the influence of society on the personality coincides with the objective logic of historical development, we are dealing with the education of the personality, he noted, if it does not, we are dealing with personality manipulation.

The second day of work of the symposium was devoted to the discussion of the report of I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, "The General Theory of Social Forecasting and Questions of the Forecasting of Personality Traits."

The author of the report emphasized that personality development can be the object of basic and standard forecasts and offered a program of the elaboration of such forecasts.

In discussing this report, a number of speakers noted that life advances the task of the forecasting, planning and designing of the socialist personality. While scholars are arguing, V. P. Petrov (Perm') noted, the management of enterprises is raising for the plant sociologists the question, how is the personality to be formed? The main way of solving the problem, apparently, consists in the study of the typical traits of workers.

In the speech of S. I. Kordon (Perm') the gap between the methodological analysis of the tasks of social forecasting and concrete work on the compilation of forecasts was analyzed, the urgency of the moral and ethical forecasting of personality was emphasized.

Yu. M. Vasserman (Perm') indicated that, by planning the conditions of the vital activity of a person, we are thereby also planning his personality traits. In this connection it is necessary to develop a special system of data gathering and processing for social planning, in which both the traits of the personality and the conditions of its vital activity would be described.

The third day of the seminar was devoted to the discussion of the report of V. A. Yadov (Leningrad), "The Problem of the Social Typology of Personality and the Forecasting of the Real Behavior of People."

A specific social type of personality, that is, first of all a system of values, which is common to the bearers of this type, the speaker concluded, should be the object of the forecasting of socially typical personality traits.

The speech of V. G. Tuchin, senior foreman of the Perm' Motor Building Plant imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov, was confirmation of the idea expressed by V. A. Yadov about the need to enlarge the sphere of decision making, which makes it possible to increase the involvement of the individual in the corresponding sphere of activity. He showed how the gradual development of production self-management led him and his comrades to the need for the planning of the social development of the personality of each worker.

The tasks of constructing a social typology of personality were at the center of attention of a number of speeches. G. Ye. Zborovskiy (Sverdlovsk) proposed to use the concept of social dominant in the construction of a typology of personality and when studying the connection of the type of personality with its real behavior. The standard model of personality, the speaker noted, should meet the requirement of harmonization, that is, reasonable proportions in the development of individual blocks of personality traits. Ye. N. Anisimova (Perm') showed how the typology of personality can be used in practice when constructing indicators of the social development of the collective of an enterprise.

The influence of social conditions on the formation of a specific type of personality using the example of the workers in Noril'sk was analyzed in the speech of G. V. Zhilina (Perm'): the emphasis on direct material stimulation, which predominates in the Arctic, is a factor of the confirmation of a specific structure of values.

V. B. Golofast (Leningrad), O. N. Bozhkov and V. V. Prokin (Perm') directed attention to the need for a thorough theoretical and methodological elaboration of the problems of personality and the forecasting of its development, since the practice of purposefully influencing personality is still ahead of the theoretical substantiation of such influences.

The speech of Yu. V. Sogomonov (Vladimir) was devoted to the problem of the ethicality of personality planning and forecasting.

The determination of the goals and the choice of the means of influencing personality, he noted, are of key importance for the successful solution of the problem. From the point of view of the criteria of ethics personality manipulation is impermissible, while the strictly regulated forecasting and planning of its development do not contradict these criteria.

In the closing speech Z. I. Faynburg indicated that the complexity of personality forecasting is connected with the inadequate level of elaboration of the concept of personality as an integrity.

The seminar adopted a number of recommendations. The seminar participants suggested that the Committee for Social Forecasting of the Soviet Sociological Association should set up within the association on a public basis the research project "Personality-2000," as well as to conduct jointly with the Committee for Scientific and Technical Forecasting of the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies an analysis and verification of the correctness of the socio-economic forecasts elaborated for 1980.

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TOMSK. PROBLEMS OF OBLAST CENTER SOCIOLOGISTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 198-199

/Article by A. V. Kuzin/

/Text/ A field meeting of the Bureau of the Siberian Branch of the Soviet Sociological Association, which was devoted to the analysis of the activity of local sociologists, was held in Tomsk in late 1979.

The representatives of a number of scientific institutions of Siberia: the Institute of Economics and the Organization of Social Production of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Krasnoyarsk and Tomsk universities, Krasnoyarsk Pedagogical Institute, the Novosibirsk Institute of Water Transport Engineers and others, took part in the work of the bureau.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. N. Turchenko, deputy chairman of the Bureau of the Siberian Branch of the Soviet Sociological Association, opened the meeting. After acquainting those present with the research of the Institute of Economics and the Organization of Social Production of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, he dwelled especially on questions of strengthening the connection of sociological research with the urgent problems of the economic development of the region.

Docent D. N. Prikhod'ko, chairman of the Tomsk Affiliate of the Siberian Branch of the Soviet Sociological Association, told about the contribution of Tomsk sociologists to the solution of the problems facing the scholars of Siberia. Under present conditions the theoretical backing of concrete research should occupy an important place in their work. The speaker told about the inadmissibility of its empirical grounding, having directed in this connection a number of critical remarks at the Sociological Laboratory of Tomsk University.

Professor A. L. Remenson and Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. F. Volovich told those who gathered about the experience of the studies of the causes of crime and offenses among young people in Siberia, which were conducted

by the Law Faculty of Tomsk University. An amendment to the code of corrective labor law, which will promote an increase of the effectiveness of the work with offenders, has been made on the basis of the obtained results. The meeting participants listened with great interest to the report of Candidates of Economic Sciences V. G. Saukov and V. A. Rabinovich (staff members of the Scientific Research Institute of Automatic Equipment and Electrical Engineering) about the elaboration of new methods of gathering and determining the parameters of the information necessary for social planning.

The report on the results of the activity of the Sociological Laboratory of the Chair of Philosophy of Tomsk University was made by its manager L. S. Gur'yeva. A sociopsychological model of the young specialist in one of the occupations was developed by the efforts of the staff members of the laboratory. The activity in this area is being continued. The study of the formation of the world outlook of young people, particularly students, has become a new direction in research. At the same time not all the theoretical developments of scholars are being further developed in applied research.

The problems of the formation of the young cities of Siberia occupy an important place in the research of sociologists of Krasnoyarsk University. University Prorector Doctor of Philosophical Sciences G. F. Kutsev, who emphasized that the suggestions and recommendations of scholars in many ways have furthered the formation and development of the young cities of the regions, told about some of their results. The speech of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. V. Kuzin (Tomsk Polytechnical University) was devoted to the strengthening of the contact of sociologists with party and Komsomol organs.

The participants of the meeting greeted with satisfaction the decision of the Bureau of the Siberian Branch of the Soviet Sociological Association on the generalization of the results of the research, which has been conducted by the sociologists of the Law Faculty of Tomsk University under the direction of Professor A. L. Remenson, for the purpose of their use in the practical work of the sociologists of Siberia, as well as on the holding of an applied science conference.

At the meeting in Tomsk on the suggestion of Professor G. A. Dokuchayev it was decided to set up the Novosibirsk Affiliate of the Siberian Branch of the Soviet Sociological Association. The organizing committee for holding the founding meeting of the affiliate was also approved.

Secretary of the Bureau of the Siberian Branch of the Soviet Sociological Association G. I. Pronina informed those who had gathered about the preparation for the All-Union Conference on the Development of the Productive Forces of Siberia, which the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences is holding in July 1980, as well as about the measures of the branch for 1980. The Bureau of the Siberian Branch of the Soviet Sociological Association suggested that the sociologists of Tomsk increase their attention to participation in the measures of party and soviet organs, which

are aimed at the development of the petroleum-bearing Ob' River region, and in the solution of the problems connected with the building on the Tomsk land of a major petrochemical complex.

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ZHDANOV. REPUBLIC SEMINAR ON SOCIAL PLANNING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 199-200

/Article by V. I. Shatalov/

/Text/ The Ukrainian Republic Seminar "Social Planning of the Development of Collectives of Metallurgical Industry Enterprises," which was organized by the Ukrainian Republic Committee of the Trade Union of Metallurgical Industry Workers and the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, was held in Zhdanov in the fall of 1979.

The goal of the seminar was the sharing of work experience on the compilation and implementation of the plans of the social development of the collectives of enterprises and the determination of the tasks of social planning for the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The reports: "On the Tasks of Economic Managers and Trade Union Organizations on the Further Improvement of the Planning of the Social Development of the Collectives of the Metallurgical Industry" by Secretary of the Republic Committee of the Trade Union N. P. Andriyenko, "The Social Development of the Labor Collectives of the Enterprises of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy" by Ukrainian SSR Deputy Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy K. I. Kotov, "Questions of Theory and Practice in the Management of Social Development in Labor Collectives" by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences I. I. Changli (Moscow), "Methods and Organizational Problems of Plant Social Planning" by Candidate of Technical Sciences Ya. A. Gal'chinskiy (Khar'kov) and "Questions of the Effectiveness of Social Planning" by Candidate of Economic Sciences L. G. Chervova (Donetsk) were heard at the seminar. Deputy directors for labor and personnel, managers of the sociological services and leading sociologists of metallurgical plants also spoke.

The seminar participants acquainted themselves with the working conditions of workers of the converted and sheet rolling shops, with the work experience of the sociological service and the medical service of workers of the Azovstal' Metallurgical Plant.

After discussing the speeches the seminar participants approved the recommendations, which were aimed at the improvement of the further work on the social planning of the development of the collectives of metallurgical industry enterprises for the 11th Five-Year Plan.

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THE 'DEMOGRAFICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA' SERIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 201-204

/Review by M. S. Matskovskiy of the "Demograficheskiye issledovaniya" (Demographic Studies) series/

/Text/ The books of the "Demograficheskiye issledovaniya" series have been appearing since 1971 and are prepared by the Department of Demography of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration. One of the most important directions of the work of this department involves the study of reproductive behavior and the factors of the birth rate on the level of the country and individual regions. Well-known Soviet demographer R. I. Sifman devoted much attention to these problems. The analysis of the materials of the sample surveys of the birth rate, which were conducted in the Department of Demography in 1960 and 1967-1968, served as the basis of the basic monograph,[1] in which the general trends of the dynamics of the birth rate of the population in our country and the causes of the changeover to a family with few children were examined and the dynamics of the indicators of fertility of women in various social groups were analyzed.

The monographs of G. A. Bondarskaya[2] and a number of articles of the collection "Skol'ko detey budet v sovetskoy sem'ye" /How Many Children There Will Be in the Soviet Family/ were also devoted to problems of the birth rate.

The studies of reproductive aims, which are being conducted in the department, are closest of all to sociological problems. This theme is covered in the monograph of V. A. Belova and L. Ye. Darskiy,[4] which was published in 1972 and is to this day one of the most frequently quoted works in Soviet literature on the problems of marriage, the family and the birth rate. The authors examined the methodological and methods problems of studying reproductive aims and attempted to answer extremely important questions for science and practice: what is the role of society in the formation of opinions about the optimum size of the family, what influences the notion of people about the best number of children and how are these notions transformed into opinions about the desirable number of children for the family and the expected number when taking into account the real circumstances? In the book the aspiration of the authors to use for studying the birth

rate the conceptual apparatus developed in sociology and social psychology was revealed, the main directions of sociodemographic research on the birth rate were formulated and a major study of reproductive aims was described for the first time. The results of this study were then interpreted from different points of view in a number of other books of the series.

The book of V. A. Belova "Chislo detey v sem'ye"[5] /The Number of Children in the Family/, in which the main attention is devoted to the methods and organization of sociodemographic studies of reproductive aims and a systematic survey of those studies, which have been conducted in the USSR, is presented, logically borders on this monograph.

A new aspect of the study of the birth rate, reproductive aims and reproductive behavior is distinguished in the work of A. G. Vishnevskiy "Demograficheskaya revolyutsiya"[6] /The Demographic Revolution/, which appeared in the same series in 1976. At the center of attention of the author is the changeover from the traditional to the modern type of reproduction of the population. Taking into account that a review of this book has already been published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA,[7] we will limit ourselves merely to the remark that the analysis of the dynamics of the birth rate and reproductive aims in the historical perspective, as well as of macro-level factors, which have an influence on the change of consciousness, is extremely important for understanding the present demographic situation in the USSR and abroad, as well as for forecasting future changes in the reproductive and marital behavior of people.

The anniversary issue of the "Demograficheskiye issledovaniya" series[8] reflects the main trends of the work of the Department of Demography of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration over the past deacde.

First of all we should mention the direction, which is connected with the analysis of demographic and demo-economic models, since it logically borders on "classical demography" and is a continuation of the previous research of the department. The examination of foreign models with hypothetical examples was of unquestionable interest for Soviet demography of the early 1970's. In the book this direction is presented on a qualitatively new level. A. G. Volkov in the article "On the Anticipated Duration of a Marriage and Its Demographic Factors" uses the model of the ending of a marriage for a hypothetical generation, which was developed by P. S. Laplace and was modified by D. Mason, and cites the data obtained on its basis about the anticipated duration of a marriage, analyzes the use of the structure of a hypothetical cohort of marriages according to the years of marriage and shows the possibilities of the model for calculating the probability that widowed and divorced people will remarry.

The work "Demograficheskoye razvitiye sem'i" /The Demographic Development of the Family/ is devoted to one of the most important and, perhaps, most interesting aspects of the study of the birth rate--the theoretical analysis of the needs in the reproductive sphere, the prospect of a change in the

rate and the study of the optimum trends of the development of demographic policy in the USSR. This direction was represented in the already mentioned books of the series, but it received its main development in the book "Rozhdayemost' (problemy izucheniya;"[9] /The Birth Rate (Problems of its Study)/, in which a number of important assumptions were formulated, which have had a substantial influence on further theoretical and empirical studies of the birth rate. In particular, of great interest to sociologists is the thesis developed by A. G. Volkov that "to achieve its broad social goals socialist society is interested not so much in the increase of the size as in the increase of the social quality of the population, by which we should understand the improvement of the personality of a person, the formation of his more developed needs."[10] In conformity with this the appraisal of the desirable trends of the growth of the population and the desirable mode of its reproduction cannot be based on demographic criteria, but is specified in the material of the studies of other sciences, particularly sociology, and is formulated in the decisions of party and state organs.

In the article a principle is formulated, according to which the optimum number of children in the family from the point of view of the family is at the same time the optimum number of children in the family from the point of view of society.[11] A number of interesting consequences ensue from this assumption. Thus, for example, for society it is more advisable to apply measures of increasing the birth rate not in terms of the average statistical family, and especially not in terms of the average statistical individual, but in terms of the families who would like to have a greater number of children than circumstances permit them (the identification of such families should be made on the basis of large-scale representative studies). However, the problem is that for the overwhelming majority of families the reproductive needs are socially dictated and are in a complicated correlation with the existing workings of the reproduction of the population--with social needs and interests. A. G. Vishnevskiy indicates this fact in a large number of his articles, correctly noting that the study of the motives of the desire or reluctance to have children is a necessary, but inadequate condition for forecasting the birth rate, since people usually do not realize to what extent individual behavior and individual consciousness in the reproductive sphere are dictated by social norms and values.

The theoretical aspects of the study of the birth rate were covered in two articles of the collective--"The Birth Rate and the Reproductive Function of the Family" by L. Ye. Darskiy and "On the Motivational Basis of the Birth Rate" by A. G. Vishnevskiy--which described the high level of development of the field of social demography, which is connected with the study of the birth rate and its factors. The interest of specialists in these problems is connected first of all with the fact that for young families motivation is of decisive importance as a result of a rational attitude toward making the decision about the number of children (which is connected, as a rule, with the higher educational and skills status of women). The combination of the requirements of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of reproduction presumes an influence precisely on these families.

In analyzing the article of L. Ye. Darskiy and A. G. Vishnevskiy, it is possible to distinguish at least three main approaches to the problem of the motivation of the birth rate. First, it is necessary to speak about the point of view, which a number of Soviet demographers, first of all A. I. Antonov and V. A. Borisov, support, according to which there is a specific need for parenthood and children. The second point of view, which is advanced by L. Ye. Darskiy in an article of this collection, is that it is unfeasible to speak about needs for children. It is more reasonable to examine more common needs, such as material and energy needs, information and research needs or needs for social interrelations, while children only are (or are not) a means to satisfy them. Finally, in conformity with the third approach, which is presented in the article of A. G. Vishnevskiy, while recognizing the importance of the individual need for children, one should take into account the decisive importance of social needs, which are the result of the development of productive forces and production relations and reflect the interests of society in the sphere of the reproduction of the population. Here it is necessary to examine reproductive needs and aims as applied to specific historical conditions and specific societies. With respect to some stages of the development of mankind in general it is unfeasible to speak about the motivation of demographic behavior.

A. G. Vishnevskiy advances the concept of a procreational need, that is, the need for a specific number of births, distinguishing it from the reproductive need, which is connected with the necessity for the continuous renewal of generations, the replacement of departing members of society or the family with new members. In correctly noting that in the contemporary family children have been transformed into an end in itself, the author explains this phenomenon by the thorough rearrangement of the system of values of society, by changes in entire layers of its culture. The essence of this rearrangement, using his terminology, consists in a sharp quantitative change of the procreational need (as a result of the decline of the death rate) and a qualitative change of the reproductive need (as a result of a change in the value of children).

The basic ideas of the work of A. G. Vishnevskiy do not arouse objections, but his criticism of the represetatives of the two other approaches is very categorical. It seems that in this case there is an excessive dramatization of the different points of view, which are natural for science. Probably it is worth agreeing with A. G. Vishnevskiy that the analysis of the birth rate only from the point of view of individual needs would be very one-sided and would not explain many really observed cases of change in demographic behavior and demographic consciousness. But in this case his position should be regarded mainly as an expansion of the views of L. Ye. Darskiy, on the one hand, and A. I. Antonov and V. A. Borisov, on the other, the differences in whose approaches are, in our opinion, more of a terminological nature. L. Ye. Darskiy analyzes first of all the future long-term needs for children and the reasons for the emergence of these needs. A. I. Antonov and V. A. Borisov speak about situational needs, which are realized by the individual and are a consequence of the more general needs examined by L. Ye. Darskiy.

In the earlier publications of the series comparatively little attention was devoted to the problems of marriage and divorce. Therefore one should only welcome the fact that four articles of the collection being reviewed are devoted to these problems. G. A. Bondarskaya and I. P. Il'ina examine the ethnic differentiation of the conjugality of women in the USSR, M. S. Iol'ts describes an approach to the analysis of conjugality, which makes it possible to study both first marriages and remarriages, and investigates the general characteristics of conjugality and the possibilities of deriving them from domestic statistical material. The anticipated duration of a marriage and its demographic factors are the theme of the article of A. G. Volkov. In turn L. Ye. Tolchinskiy presents for the first time in domestic literature information on what percentage of marriages collapse as a result of divorces after a specific period of time.

Finally, two works, which can be grouped in another direction of research--historical demography--are presented in the collection. R. I. Sifman worked in this direction, and her last article "The Number of Children According to the Data of the 1926 Family Census" is interesting both from the point of view of the conclusions contained in it (she showed, in particular, that in the early 1920's the employment of women in social production had almost no influence on the number of children in the family) and from the point of view of methods. The reader will also find much useful information in the article of L. L. Kuvshinova, "From the History of the Study of the Secondary Relationship of the Sexes."

The analysis of this collection and the earlier publications of the series makes it possible to evaluate the contribution of the Department of Demography of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration to domestic science. In this connection we would like to emphasize the following important things.

First, the Soviet and foreign experience of studying the birth rate and reproductive aims is generalized in a number of publications of the series.

Second, the all-union representative study of reproductive aims is cited and described in detail. Scholars have obtained important information on the ideal, desired and anticipated number of children in the family in different regions of our country and depending on such indicators as income, the housing conditions of the family and the education of the woman.

Third, the influence of macroeconomic and macrosocial factors on the radical rearrangement of demographic behavior, particularly in the reproductive sphere, is analyzed on the basis of comparative historical material.

Fourth, important theoretical assumptions, which are connected with the causes of the decline and the motivation of the birth rate in the USSR and other countries, the criterion of the optimum reproduction of the population, as well as the goals of demographic policy in our country, are formulated.

All this makes it possible to assert that a new direction of research--social demography, the science which studies the influence of a wide range of social factors on demographic variables, first of all the birth rate--was formulated and developed in the works of the Department of Demography of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration. Like any other efficiently operating scientific organization, the department is in a state of research, creative development. Therefore it seems very useful to use to look "with the eyes of a sociologist" at its activity and to express some wishes.

First of all many works err in the direction of descriptiveness and in practice are a paraphrase of the tables. Interesting, meaningful hypotheses are encountered in them more rarely than one would like; the sections, in which the causes of the differentiation and dynamics of the birth rate are examined, are more of a declarative nature, rather than relying on serious empirical research.

We did not encounter in any of the 10 books of the series (this also pertains to the overwhelming majority of other demographic works) mention of the coefficients of the relationship between different parameters and of the use of complicated methods of data processing (regression and factor analysis, the recognition of patterns and so on). At the same time it is obvious that the use of multifactor models in the study of the birth rate is a mandatory condition, since it has been proven that the level of the birth rate is governed by the effect of a large number of factors, which are interconnected in a complicated manner.

It should be noted that in the theoretical works the authors go beyond demography and turn to sociological methods more boldly than in the gathering of empirical data. Thus, the questionnaire of the all-union survey, which we have already mentioned, consists of only five questions. The data of sociological studies of the family are also not used extensively enough by the demographers. The same thing can be said about the achievements of sociological science in the study of aims, values and standards and in the elaboration of the theoretical aspects of the methods and techniques of organizing research.

FOOTNOTES

1. See R. I. Sifman, "Dinamika rozhdayemosti v SSSR" /Dynamics of the Birth Rate in the USSR/, Moscow, 1974.

2. See G. A. Bondarskaya, "Rozhdayemost' v SSSR (etnodemograficheskiy aspekt)" /The Birth Rate in the USSR (The Ethnodemographic Aspect)/, Moscow, 1977.

3. See "Skol'ko detey budet v sovetskoy sem'ye (rezul'tat obsledovaniya)" /How Many Children There Will Be in the Soviet Family (The Result of a Survey)/, Moscow, 1977.

4. See V. A. Belova, L. Ye. Darskiy, "Statistika mneniy v izuchenii rozhdayemosti" /The Statistics of Opinions in the Study of the Birth Rate/, Moscow, 1972.

5. See V. A. Belova, "Chislo detey v sem'ye" /The Number of Children in the Family/, Moscow, 1975.

6. See A. G. Vishnevskiy, "Demograficheskaya revolyutsiya" /The Demographic Revolution/, Moscow, 1976.

7. See SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1977.

8. "Demograficheskoye razvitiye sem'i" /The Demographic Development of the Family/, Moscow, 1979.

9. See "Rozhdayemost' (problemy izucheniya)" /The Birth Rate (Problems of Its Study)/, Moscow, 1976.

10. A. G. Volkov, "On the Need to Influence the Birth Rate," "Rozhdayemost' (problemy izucheniya)," p 47.

11. Ibid., p 54.

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CSO: 1806

TEACHING PERSONNEL AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF STUDENT EDUCATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 205-207

/Review by V. F. Sbytov and Yu. N. Kozyrev of the book "Pedagogicheskiye kardy shkoly i sovershenstvovaniye vospitaniya uchashchikhsya" (The Teaching Personnel of the School and the Improvement of Student Education) by V. N. Yagodkin, Moscow, "Pedagogika", 1979, 295 pages/

/Text/ The work of V. N. Yagodkin is the first and for the present the only attempt at a comprehensive analysis of the socio-economic and sociopolitical aspects of the activity of teachers and a comprehensive evaluation of the prospects of increasing its effectiveness. This very fact attracts particular attention to it.

An unquestionable merit of the book is the quite detailed theoretical interpretation of the specific problems, with the solution of which the participation of teachers in providing the conditions for the social development of Soviet society is connected. Pedagogy is "a pronounced social science" (p 6). Its subject is the process of the instruction and education of people under specific historical conditions, the content and laws of which are also included to an equal extent in the subject of economics and sociology, since it, on the one hand, influences the movement of manpower resources, promoting the assurance of the conformity of the personal element and the physical elements of productive forces, and, on the other, is a condition of the development of the relations between the classes and social groups, which form Soviet society.

The author quite justifiedly, in our opinion, begins the discussion of the problems of pedagogy with the question of the social role of the system of education under the conditions of mature socialism, since the correct understanding by each teacher of the socio-economic and sociopolitical content of his professional activity is one of the most necessary prerequisities of its effectiveness and the increase of the quality of the labor of teachers.

The discussion of this question, just as, however, the other questions examined in the book, is conducted on the problematic plane, which substantially heightens the interest of the reader in the assumptions stated in it.

The author quite correctly links the need for a universal secondary education under the conditions, when in Soviet industry approximately two-fifths of the workers are engaged in manual labor, when "in many cases their activity can be grouped with the category of very simple and even elementary labor operations" (p 17), which "do not require" in the least a secondary education, with factors of a sociopolitical and ideological order, by speaking "about their priority over production engineering factors" (ibid.) and the connection with the practice of cultivating among the bulk of the population a communist consciousness and of creating the cultural prerequisites of the social activeness of the workers. At the same time in the book it would have been worthwhile to devote more attention to the problem of training young people with a secondary education for labor at a works.

In the mature socialist society ... education of the new man is being transformed into one of the most important conditions of the acceleration of the rate of the building of communi[illegible]nd "in the end the people, who have been provided with scientific knowle[illegible]..., advanced ideas and, what is the most important thing, a communist consciousness, are deciding the success of the economic competition with capitalism" (p 18). Thus, the school and its teaching personnel, by ensuring the comprehensiveness of the development of the new reinforcements of the participants in socialist production, the dissemination among the bulk of the rising generation of a communist world outlook and an irreconcilable attitude toward the vestiges of bourgeois morals, are having a greater and greater influence on the course and results of the development of Soviet society.

In characterizing a complete secondary education as "the socially necessary minimum for each worker of modern socialist society" (p 19), the author, however, noted that "...the task of implementing everywhere an obligatory eight-year universal education also remains important at this time" (p 22), indicates the differentiation of students according to the aptitudes, which they have for mastering the school syllabus, and according to the quality of the training, which they receive at different schools--urban and rural, and discusses the important question of the contradictions of the development of the educational system.

Indeed, the book would have gained considerably, if there had been given in it an evaluation of the connection of the development of the educational system both with the amount of public funds, which are being channeled into the sphere of general education, and with the dynamics of the need of the population for such an education, which is determined, in particular, by the "pulsations" of the demographic process, by the changes--under the influence of the postponed demographic consequences of the war--in the size of the generations, which annually reinforce the student bodies of general educational schools, as well as with the practice of expanding the scope of activity of the vocational school.

The questions of the role of training and education in the development and functioning of society and the connection of the goals, tasks and functions of the school with the goals and tasks of the development of a specific

mode of production and the class nature of education are examined thoroughly in the monograph.

In the author's opinion, the educational system under socialism performs a multifunctional social role, being "the most important factor in the development and consolidation of the entire system of the Soviet state, in the extension and improvement of the new, socialist social relations" (p 32). This multifunctionality is realized in the practice of the comprehensive "ideological, political, labor and moral education of the rising generation"; in the promotion of the convergence of classes and social groups, the process of the achievement of the social homogeneity of society on the basis of the convergence of the levels of education of these classes and groups--the workers and kolkhoz farmers, urban and rural residents, those engaged in physical and mental labor; in the practice of coordinating the actions of the school, the family and the public in the education of the rising generation; finally, in the assurance of the "continuity of the generations of our country, and first of all ideological continuity" (pp 34-40), that is, in the promotion of the comprehensive development of the socially valuable inclinations and talents of the new members of society and the subjects of social activeness, in the provision of room for the realization of the general need for the conformity of the subjective, "personal" prerequisites of their vital activity and its objective conditions.

In the book the methodological problems of the comprehensive approach to the education of school youth under the conditions of the intensification of the ideological confrontation of the two social systems are set forth, the system of ideological diversions against the rising generation of our country and the main directions of the influence of bourgeois propaganda on young people is revealed, the methods and means of the cultivation of class consciousness and of the labor, ideological, political and moral education of school youth, the experience of the work of the teaching collectives of the country are analyzed in detail.

When speaking about the complex tasks of the teaching personnel of the school, the author focuses attention on the new approach to imparting knowledge, emphasizes the practical importance of the evaluation of the work of teaching personnel according to the actual results of the instructional and educational process and shows the need to bring the very methods of instruction in line with the requirements of life.

The list of indicators of the effectiveness of various aspects of the activity of the school, which is proposed by V. N. Yagodkin, creates the conditions for the comprehensive and quite specific discussion of the quality of the work of each specific teacher, teaching collective and teachers as a whole. In the last instance the evaluation cannot, apparently, be anything but a statement of the conformity (or lack of conformity) of the results of the physical, mental and moral development of each specific student to the need for his social integration as the subject of social activity: first of all his readiness for labor, for the role of a spouse and parent and, finally, for state and public activity.

Owing to the increase of the urgency of the elaboration of "criteria of the effectiveness of educational work and the evaluation of the level of education" of students, to the need for which attention is directed in the book (p 168), the question of such an integral indicator, apparently, will be discussed with partiality and, we would hope, constructively.

A considerable portion of the monograph is devoted to the examination, which is unusual for special literature, of the question of the structure and dynamics of the teaching personnel of the school. Here "the main, decisive trend of the change in the composition of the personnel of the school--the constant improvement of its quality" is established and at the same time the unresolved problems in the area of their formation are discussed. The author correctly sees one of these problems in the need to increase the proportion of educators with a higher education. This is especially urgent as among the teachers, who were assigned in 1971-1975 to work at schools, university graduates made up only 11.4 percent, the graduates of the day divisions of pedagogical higher educational institutions--48.16 percent, while the graduates of teachers' schools made up 40.7 percent (p 25).

Thus, in the book not only are complicated questions boldly raised, but ways to solve them are proposed. The problematic nature of the work and its extensive backing with statistical information make the monograph of V. N. Yagodkin a noteworthy event in the literature devoted to the prospects of the development of the Soviet school.

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THE INDIVIDUAL AND RESPECT OF THE LAW

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 207-209

/Review by I. B. Mikhaylovskaya of the book "Lichnost' i uvazheniye k zakonu. Sotsiologicheskiy aspekt" (The Individual and Respect of the Law. The Sociological Aspect), edited by V. N. Kudryavtsev and V. P. Kazimirchuk, Moscow, 1979, 285 pages/

/Text/ The need for a thorough scientific study of this question is first of all dictated by the increase under the conditions of mature socialism of the role of the purposeful, conscious activity of people. It is not by chance that in party documents such close attention is devoted to the tasks of communist education and the increase of the consciousness of the Soviet people. The urgency of the problems, which are connected with the formation of respect for the law, is also dictated by the fact that the role of law in the control of social processes is becoming more and more significant as they become more complex.

The work contains extensive factual material, which was obtained by the collective of authors during many years of empirical studies, which were conducted in several regions of our country, as well as in the Polish People's Republic. In our opinion, it makes a substantial contribution to the solution of the problem of cultivating the respect of the individual for the law. This process is regarded in the book as a complex and multifactor system of the formation of the consciousness and behavior of the individual (p 15).

Respect of the law, the authors believe, is achieved in the social activity of the individual, which functions as an objective criterion of the concept of law. In emphasizing the importance of the study of the factors which stimulate its development, the authors, in our opinion, correctly class with them first of all those factors which reflect the status of the individual in the system of social relations. Moreover, an important role here belongs to the social dependence of the law, the coincidence of its requirements with the standards shared by the individual and so on (p 22).

In the work an interesting attempt is made to determine the content of the very concept "respect of the law," to reveal the essence of this

phenomenon. In socialist society respect of the law means, in the opinion of the authors, "the recognition of the social value of law, which includes adequate information about the requirements of legal standards and solidarity with the principles of law" (p 17). A more detailed analysis makes it possible to distinguish in this concept the following elements: the level of legal information of the individual, groups and society; the evaluation of the system of law and legal orders; the prestige of the legal professions, the attitude toward the activity of legal institutions; the degree of public activeness in the legal sphere. Such a concrete definition, to be sure, is conducive to the increase of the effectiveness of empirical studies, which are called upon to play an important role in evaluating the effectiveness of legal educational measures.

The formation of respect of the law is examined by the authors in the context of the more general process of the "transformation" of standard information during the development of individual behavior. The logical model of the influence of a legal standard, which is proposed in this connection, is of theoretical interest first of all because it contains a three-level hierarchy of its goals: the regulation of the social system, influence on social regulation as a whole, the transformation of the stereotypes of behavior of the individual. Each of these levels is defined concretely as applied to the social, sociopsychological and personality factors which influence the attitude of the individual toward the legal standard (p 28).

It should be noted that their structure, which is cited in the book, completely conforms to the position of Marxist sociology, according to which the behavior of an individual in the end is governed by his place in the system of social relations. The understanding by a person of standard social requirements, particularly legal requirements, is regarded as "a part of the process of familiarizing the individual with the achieved level of the cultural and political development of society."

The careful elaboration of the theoretical concept was conducive to obtaining interesting factual data as a result of the conducting of an empirical study based on it. In particular, it was established that "the real value of a standard of the law as a regulator of behavior depends only very relatively on the threat of imposing sanctions" (p 40). This conclusion, which was drawn from the data of a questionnaire survey, is also corroborated by practical experience: by the lack of a significant correlation between the increase of the penalty for one type of offense or another and the decrease of its level. The study also established that the belief in the value of the system of legal standards and in "the realization of their real sociopolitical role and utility" (ibid.) is the predominant motive of legitimate behavior.

The two chapters of the book being reviewed are devoted to questions of the methodology and general methods of studying the process of the formation of respect of the law. On the whole they reveal in sufficient detail the research means and techniques, which are necessary for the empirical verification of a theoretical concept. At the same time some assumptions of the indicated chapters, in our opinion, are very debatable.

Thus, considering the concept of law as one of "the guiding social subsystems of society," the authors assert that "the concept of law of the individual is as if the first (in degree of proximity to the object of control--social relations) guiding system" (p 56). It is difficult to agree with this conclusion. First, the individual concept of law cannot be regarded as a social subsystem, since it is not a component of social integrity. "Society does not consist of individuals," K. Marx wrote, "but expresses those contacts and relations, in which these individuals are with each other."[1] Second, the development of social relations is a natural historical processes. The individual concept of law, just as, however, the social concept of law, can only recognize its laws and promote their enforcement.

The problem of the correlation of legal information and knowledge of the law is covered in an interest way in the book. Regarding the former as a modification of social information, the authors give its classification, which is undoubtedly very important for the study of the mechanism of information influence. Developing the assumptions stated in the book, we should emphasize the feasibility of constructing a system of empirical indicators of the level of the concept of law. The models of individual and mass behavior in the sphere of the effect of the law could serve as its basis, while the displays of social activeness of citizens in various areas of vital activity, which yield to establishment and measurement, could serve as the criterion of the development of the concept of law.

The chapter "The Prestige of Justice and Legal Professions" contains interesting factual data. The fact of a difference in the level of prestige of legal professions in different regions of our country, which was established by the authors, is important in two respects: first, the data on it can be used as indirect indicators of the quality of the activity of the law enforcement agencies of a specific region, and, second, they show to what extent the specific nature of territorial communities is manifested in the sphere of the concept of law.

The fourth chapter of the monograph is devoted to the problems of legal education and the role of state organs and public organizations in this process. Some of its assumptions arouse, in our opinion, a number of reproaches. Thus, the proposed system of goals of legal education is not logically ordered. Their determination is not specific enough, and the division of the goals into "cognitive," "emotional" and "behavioral" is hardly justified, since they are different aspects of the same process of achieving the legitimate behavior of the individual. There is also no logical strictness in the statement of the question about the criteria of legal education: here social activeness at times is replaced by legitimate behavior (p 176). On the whole the content of the indicated chapter correlates inadequately with the questions of legal propaganda and the role of public opinion in legal education, which are examined in the next two chapters. It seems that many aspects of legal education are covered in them

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 46, Part I, p 214.

considerably more successfully. In particular, the authors, in our opinion, correctly approach the determination of the desirable minimum of legal knowledge for the population. They assign to it that body of legal data, which every citizen needs to exercise his rights and duties (p 224).

The monograph concludes with a critical analysis of the content and orientation of bourgeois legal culture. The data of numerous theoretical and empirical studies of sociologists of law of the United States, the FRG, Great Britain, Denmark and other European capitalist countries form its basis. The interesting factual material is combined with valid criticism of the methodological stands of bourgeois authors.

On the whole the monograph "Lichnost' i uvazheniye k zakonu" unquestionably merits a high positive rating and is another important stage in the sociological interpretation of legal phenomena.

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SOVIET OLYMPIAN

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 209-210

/Review by B. K. Bronin of the book "Sovetskiy olimpiyets: sotsial'nyy portret" (The Soviet Olympian: A Social Portrait) by O. A. Mil'shteyn and K. A. Kulinkovich, Moscow, "Fizkul'tura i sport", 144 pages/

/Text/ The book of O. A. Mil'shteyn and K. A. Kulinkovich, "Sovetskiy olimpiyets: sotsial'nyy portret" /The Soviet Olympian: A Social Portrait/, acquaints the reader with some results of the first major sociological study in our country, which was conducted by the authors among Soviet participants in six summer and five winter Olympic Games in 33 types of sports over a 20-year period (1952-1972). In all 1,597 people participated in the games. They surveyed 716 Olympians, which is 44.83 percent of all the Soviet participants in the games. Among those who responded were 412 people, who have ceased to compete, and 304 active athletes.

The authors examine a wide range of problems of sports activity and the way of life of athletes. Let us cite here just a few data.

The average age of the members of the Soviet team in Helsinki (1952) was 32. Many of them were former front-line soldiers. During the past 20 years the average age of Olympians has decreased to 24.5.

Previously the majority of Olympians started families at approximately 25 years of age, now it is two years earlier. In the families of male Olympians there are more children than in the families of female Olympians, especially among athletes who are continuing to compete. The number of families of athletes, in which there are children, is higher than the average statistical data for the country. It is noteworthy that the number of divorces among Olympians is also lower than in ordinary families.

Those athletes, who earnestly began to engage in "their own" type of sport at the age of 14-15, achieve the best sports results. The longest term of membership on the combined team of the country (7.5 years on the average) and the stability of results are also typical of them. One Olympian in four was a participant in the games twice. While such outstanding athletes

[illegible] Ivanchenkov, I. Ter-Ovanesyan (track and field), K. Mel'gunov, T. Pinegin and F. Shutkov (sailing) started in five Olympiads.

Nearly two-thirds of all the Olympians are the winners, prize winners of the games or finished in 4th-6th places. The number of two-time champions is increasing. The majority of athletes have state awards, certificates of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the union republics. One out of two has been awarded several awards.

Three-fourths of the Olympians have a higher and incomplete higher education. Among them is a large group of workers of physical culture and sports and students of higher educational institutions. There are also many engineers, technicians, physicians and specialists of other occupations. Many athletes after retiring from major sports engage in training or other work, which is connected in one way or another with sports (organizational, scientific, journalistic and so on), regardless of the specialization of their education.

Press coverage of an athlete's achievements and failures, the authors write, has a definite influence on his activity, on the formation of his personality. Half of all the athletes collect clippings from newspapers and journals with materials about themselves. Some 39.2 percent of the athletes assert that the statements about them in the press helped them in life and in sports. At the same time nearly as many of the Olympians noted that the unobjective materials and unjust reproaches, which were published during their sports career, left an unpleasant aftertaste.

Many athletes (23.7 percent of the active ones and 62.1 percent of the former ones) appear themselves as authors on the pages of the press.

O. A. Mil'shteyn and K. A. Kulinkovich not only acquaint us with interesting data on Soviet Olympians, but also reflect on these data and raise complex theoretical questions of major sports. Their attempts to look into the motivation of sports activity and to give a typology of the social character of the Olympian, for example, merit attention. Not all the sections of the book turned out to be equal, there are repetitions, at times the material is excessively illustrative. It is also possible to assign to the shortcomings the lack of references to sources and to literature on the social problems of sports. However, on the whole this is an interesting and necessary work in the genre of sociological journalism.

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FUTURE OF MARRIAGE OR MARRIAGES OF THE FUTURE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 210-211

/Review by Zh. Maurer and O. A. Voronina of the book "A Hazassag Jovoje: Avagy a Jovo Hazassagai" by V. Szilagyi, Budapest, Minerva, 1978, 228 pages/

/Text/ At present marriage and the family are experiencing serious difficulties, which take the form of an increase of the number of divorces, the decline of the birth rate and so on. It is natural that the attempts to interpret these phenomena have given rise to extensive literature. In the West these processes are most often characterized as a "crisis" of marriage and the family, a sexual "revolution" and so on.[1]

A transition from the traditional forms of marriage and sex roles (the man is the breadwinner and head of the family, the woman is the housewife, wife and mother) to egalitarian standards in family life, from the old "double" standard in the sphere of sexual behavior to a new ethics of intimate relations is also taking place in socialist society. These processes are accompanied by a number of far from unambiguous, and at times negative phenomena. In this connection the author not only analyzes the theoretical aspects of the problem, but also makes attempts to help the reader in forming the principles of his personal life, which is of great importance both for the development of the Marxist sociology of the family and for the solution of many practical problems in this area.

The book opens with a short chapter, which is devoted to the history of marital relations from primitive society to bourgeois society. Following western researchers V. Szilagyi calls the old marriage "closed" and distinguishes such features of it as the "strict division" and "maintenance" of roles, the "appropriation" of a partner, self-denial and the repudiation of the display of one's personality (especially among women), the maintenance of the appearance of the unity of spouses. The symptoms of crisis, with which the reaction of the "closed" marriage to a change in the

1. See, for example, R. M. Mazur, "The New Intimacy. Open-Ended Marriage and Alternative Lifestyles," Boston, 1973, pp 65-78; J. Bernard, "The Future of Marriage," New York, 1972, Chapters 1-4.

socio-economic conditions is accompanied, are expressed, in the author's opinion, in the prevalence of premarital and extramarital sexual relations, the reluctance to have children, the increase of the number of divorces and conflicts concerning conjugal and family roles and duties.

The worsening of conjugal relations and divorce, it is stressed in the book, can be the cause of considerable deviations in the development of the personality of a child, the neutralization or elimination of which is a difficult task for society. Divorce is one of the main threats to the social hygiene of the population.

On the whole, V. Szilagyi summarizes, there is every reason to consider such phenomena "a crisis of development," and not a "crisis" of marriage and the family as social institutions. It is difficult not to agree with this characterization. It is merely important, in our opinion, to clearly delimit the process as such of the transformation of marital relations and its social, ideological and psychological consequences under the conditions of different socio-economic systems.

In evaluating the prospects of the development of marriage, which are substantiated in the book, it is necessary to note that many assumptions of the author are of a very debatable nature and require further refinement, especially as applied to the conditions of socialist society.

It seems, in particular, that in examining the question, what will marriage and the family become in the future, it is necessary to treat more critically both the new forms of marriage themselves and the forecasts of bourgeois scholars. Being one of the main social institutions, the family reproduces the ideology and relations, which prevail in society, reflecting "in miniature a picture of those opposites and contradictions, in which society moves."[2] Therefore, in spite of the fact that at present there are a number of similar processes in the development of the family in capitalist and socialist countries (the change in the functions of marriage and the family, the great flexibility of conjugal and family roles, the decrease of external social control and so on), their social basis, orientation and intensity are different. Unfortunately, V. Szilagyi does not always adequately take this important methodological principle into account, which led to the incorrect, in our opinion, placement of the emphasis by the author in analyzing the concept of an "open" marriage.

The basic idea of the "open" marriage is the overcoming of the inequality of spouses. Here it is taken as self-evident that marriage and the family in essence are incapable of providing a person with complete personal satisfaction and happiness, and the best that can be expected from a husband or wife is the granting of freedom to seek happiness outside the marriage. It is obvious that the proclamation of permissiveness negates individual sexual love as one of the highest spiritual achievements of mankind; the need of

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2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 21, p 70.

a person for the intimacy of interpersonal relations is also denied. The aspiration for diversity, and not for the depth and intensity of the emotional and spiritual contact of couples is evidence of a consumer attitude toward man, the depersonalization of the individual, the loss of truly humanistic cultural ideals and their replacement by the standards of the "mass culture" of bourgeois society. On the other hand, the stability of marriage and the family, the formation of harmonious conjugal and family relations, the happiness brought by them depend on the degree of development of the relations between couples and intrafamilial relations. It would apparently be more correct to characterize the search for extramarital relations of couples in the "open" marriage as some extreme reaction to the "double standard" in sexual morals, to the general spirit of the discrimination of women in bourgeois society, and the "open" marriage itself as a transitional (from the traditional, authoritarian to the new, egalitarian) form of marriage.

The author, unfortunately, did not use the extensive Marxist literature on questions of conjugal and family relations under socialism, including the works of Soviet scholars. It seems that, by relying on it, it would have been able to make a number of conclusions more convincing and the entire concept of the author more correct.

It is hardly possible to expect an unambiguous influence on the mass psychology from the book. Therefore, as a factor of the orientation of sexual behavior it is of less interest than as a factor of the development of scientific discussions--within the framework of Marxist sociology--on an entire group of most urgent social and ethical problems, which affect the interests both of society and of each individual person. Here it should be said in all fairness that many materials of the monograph can be a serious basis not only for polemics, but also for the positive solution of the questions raised by the modern sociology of the family.

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CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 212-214

/Review by V. A. Yadov and Ye. B. Stolbun of the book "Sovremennaya sotsial'naya psikhologiya SShA" (Contemporary U.S. Social Psychology) by P. N. Shikhirev, Moscow, "Nauka", 1979, 229 pages/

/Text/ Soviet authors are devoting much attention to the critical analysis of the concepts of American social psychology.[1] In the West these concepts were regarded until lately, as P. N. Shikhirev correctly notes, as "a world standard," which the abundance of literature on questions of psychology and the myth about their practical effectiveness, which was prevalent in the 1960's, promoted to a great extent. To some extent this myth also influenced Soviet scholars, in whose works there was sometimes observed "the uncritical borrowing of the methods, approaches, as well as individual theoretical assumptions, which formed in U.S. social psychology."[2]

The serious Marxist analysis of the present state of U.S. social psychology is an important theoretical and methodological task. Its accomplishment will make it possible to avoid the repetition of errors and to derive positive experience when elaborating the methods and procedures of sociopsychological research. The monograph of P. N. Shikhirev is an example of the successful combination of an interest in key questions of theory, methodology and ideology with the concrete material of research and its appearance in social practice.

The first section of the book, which is devoted to questions of theory, is, perhaps, of the greatest interest, since it goes beyond social psychology proper, which in the search of metatheory seeks a link with sociology and philosophy.

1. See, for example, G. M. Andreyeva, N. N. Bogomolova, L. A. Petrovskaya, "Sovremennaya sotsial'naya psikhologiya na Zapade" /Contemporary Social Psychology in the West/, Moscow, 1978.

2. See "Metodologicheskiye problemy sotsial'noy psikhologii" /Methodological Problems of Social Psychology/, Moscow, 1975, p 13.

Turning to the works of prominent authorities, the author gives a description of the present state of social psychology in the United States. Whereas in the 1960's American researchers knew "who they are and where they are going" (A. Elms), now both they themselves and the society, which they serve, do not see a clear future. Numerous private studies--and P. N. Shikhirev confirms this with documents--did not lead to fundamental generalizations, to a knowledge of the laws of human behavior, but rather have the nature of "a fruitful error" (p 16).

American social psychology has arrived at the need to develop a general theory, within which it is possible to correlate basic postulates and categories. The very development of this science, which came to a dead end due to the positivistic orientation which separated it from sociology, history and economics, led American authors to thoughts about the subject of social psychology. "The changes in the overall socio-economic situation in the United States, the betrayed expectations of the public and sharp foreign criticism served as a catalyst of this reflection" (p 17).

The first task of any science is the determination of the boundaries of its subject. The subject of American social psychology is not the personality (the subject of philosophy, personology and other "metaphysics"), while the individual is mediated, featureless and abstract. The procedure of reduction, which reduces the psychology of a real person to externally observable behavior, is examined in the book. American scholars also interpret just as primitively the subject of social psychology. R. Zajonc thus explains the difference between psychology and social psychology: "If a mouse, in moving through a labyrinth, prefers the left corridor to the right, because food lies in the left one, the psychologist studies this behavior. If the mouse turns to the right because another mouse is sitting in the right corridor, the social psychologist studies this behavior" (p 21). However, the majority of American social psychologists do not separate the subject of their science from the subject of sociology and psychology, with which it is merged into one whole, which is difficult to differentiate.

How does one analyze the hardly comparable and mutually contradictory directions of social psychology? How does one reveal the internal logic of their development, which is concealed by a diversity of theoretical approaches? These problems face every researcher of bourgeois concepts.

P. N. Shikhirev proposes a methodological technique, by means of which it is possible to effectively group the concepts of American authors. He assumes that, in spite of the eclectic confusion of microtheories, which exists in American social psychology, it is possible to speak about the evolution of theoretical models of man.

Five such models are distinguished in the book: 1) "mechanical, reacting man"--the model which is the basis for behaviorist concepts; 2) "cognitive man," who cognizes, has the ability to process information--the model which is the basis for cognitivist theories; 3) "psychodynamic man"--the model of dynamic subject-object relations with the environment, which was developed

in the theories of "field," interpersonal relations, power, cooperation and rivalry; 4) "psycho-energetic man"--the neo-Freudian model; 5) "role man"--the sociological model of symbolic interactionism. The distinction of these models enabled P. N. Shikhirev to evaluate in a new way the traditional trends of analysis and the logic of their development.

The author correctly assumes that "the central model of the social study--the model of the ancestral man--always depended and, apparently, will depend on the attitude toward man. In fact the entire history of social though can be represented through the change of its models, which always meant that cardinal changes had or were taking place in society" (p 27). This idea runs through the entire work of P. N. Shikhirev and makes it extremely interesting and methodological instructive, while it makes the chapter "The Evolution of Models of Man" profound and original.

The section of the book, which is devoted to the problem of the connection of sociopsychological research with practice, is of great interest. In the United States they demand from the social sciences first of all proof of their social relevance. When an approach, which has been proposed for the solution of a social problem by a sociologist or psychologist, proves ineffective, in the eyes of public opinion they at times become "scapegoats," "'eggheads'," who ignored the interests and needs of society (p 192).

In the book under review there are a number of debatable points and shortcomings. Thus, P. N. Shikhirev proposes a successful methodological technique of evaluating one trend or another of American social psychology from the point of view of a specific model of man. At times this technique absorbs the author so, that he cites illegitimate parallels. For example, in evaluating the interactionist model of G. H. Mead, which, although emphasizing the attention on the mechanisms of interaction in the process of the formation of self-consciousness and role identifications, still cannot in any way be correlated with the Marxist understanding of the exchange of objective activity in the process of personality development. This is an obvious strained interpretation.

Some schematism is also allowed when evaluating the Jena School of social psychologists (C. Howland and others). The author considers it necessary to show that their "enlightening" position in fact turns into a manipulatory approach to man. In reality neither Howland himself nor his colleagues, who emphasize the importance of cognitive elements in the process of the formation of social aims under the influence of propaganda pressure, to no extent considered themselves enlighteners in the spirit of the philosophers of the 18th century, but engaged quite purposefully in the search for ways to maximize the propaganda impact, and the purely scientific results of the research of this school are a by-product of their applied research.

The statement of K. Marx about the essence of man as a set of social relations is illegitimately reduced to a specific person who, as P. N. Shikhirev writes, "is in a certain sense the set of his /specific/ /in italics/ social relations" (p 66).

Another critical remark concerns the structure of the book. The author's discussion, which proceeds from the abstract to the concrete, from "the upper floors of theory" to its practical application through the demonstration of the "technological" process of acquiring knowledge, does not evoke any objections. The second chapter of the book, which is devoted to the analysis of the main fields of research, is not, however, incorporated entirely successfully in this logic. The book is oversaturated as it is with factual material.

The book of P. N. Shikhirev must be read along with the work of G. M. Andreyeva, M. N. Bogomolova and L. A. Petrovskaya, which was published somewhat earlier, for both monographs are devoted to the analysis of the present state of social psychology in the United States and complement each other excellently.

On the whole the work of P. N. Shikhirev gives a clear idea of how difficult the path of the social knowledge of man is, how important philosophical and methodological guidelines are on this path, how dangerous it is to exaggerate the "unconditional proof of a fact," if it is not included in a reliable theoretical system, how fatal for the scholar a scientistic view of the world is--a world outlook in which devotion to "pure knowledge" gives up its place to devotion to the social duty of the scholar, which consists in understanding, explaining and helping to transform the world of human relations in conformity with the logic of their historical development.

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PARTY WORK AT THE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 p 215

/Review by V. A. Malova of the book "Partiynaya rabota v vuze (nekotoryye voprosy formirovaniya spetsialistov v usloviyakh nauchno-tekhnicheskoy revolyutsii)" (Party Work at the Higher Educational Institution /Some Questions of the Formation of Specialists Under the Conditions of the Scientific and Technical Revolution/) by A. Kochergin, A. Dubnov and L. Liss, Moscow, Politizdat, 1979, 230 pages/

/Text/ In the book, which is devoted to the practice of party work, a wide range of questions: the integration of science and education, the training of the specialist and the formation of his personality, the organizational support of party leadership and others, is examined using the example of Novosibirsk State University.

Party work at the higher educational institution relies on the long-range and current planning of the activity of all the subdivisions, the extensive discussion of various aspects of university life and the analysis of the effectiveness of the measures being implemented. The authors correctly assign an important role in it to the results of concrete sociological studies, which are the basis for party decisions on a number of important aspects of university life. Cautioning against ill-considered and unqualified surveys, they give valuable instructions on the complex combination of sociological methods in ascertaining the state of affairs.

The question of the need to take into account the dialectics of the general, the particular and the isolated (individual) in constructing a model of the specialist is correctly raised in the book. The authors see the solution of this problem in the distinction of "some small number of general characteristics of the social plane, which could be the foundation, the basis for everything else" (p 70), and support their idea with the data of a sociological survey of senior physics students, which make it possible to distinguish a number of basic components of the model of the physics scholar. The analysis (which, unfortunately, is exceedingly short) of the value orientations of the student collective is also of interest.

Stimulating the search for the most effective forms for overcoming the already existing difficulties, the book aims the workers of the higher school at the improvement of the management of the educational and training process, the elaboration of uniform scientific principles of its implementation, which ensure the fundamental combination of academic and extrascholastic, VUZ and extra-VUZ activity of the students.

Not all the questions in the monograph under review are examined in the same depth: this concerns the work of the party groups of the chairs, the coordination of their efforts in solving urgent problems. In a number of instances an exceedingly thorough detailed elaboration of some well-known and widespread forms of party work is given, repetitions are encountered.

However, on this whole this is a valuable work, which attests to the great effectiveness of the use of scientific methods in the activity of the party organization of the higher educational institution.

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CRITICISM OF MALTHUSIAN, NEOMALTHUSIAN VIEWS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 p 216

/Review by D. K. Shelestov of the book "Kritika mal'tuzianskikh i neomal'tuzianskikh vaglyadov. Rossiya XIX-nachala XX v." (Criticism of Malthusian and Neomalthusian Views. Russia of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries) by G. M. Koronteiev, P. A. Bakalo, R. A. Bashmakova and T. P. Neskoromn[illegible]a, Moscow, "Statistika", 1978, 166 pages/

/Text/ So far only individual stages of the struggle against Malthusianism in Russia have been analyzed in our literature, the logic of the development of this struggle and its trends have not been examined. The monograph being reviewed to a certain extent has filled this gap, covering, moreover, some pages of history, which until now were little known.

The reasons, for which Malthusianism in the early 19th century did not become widespread in Russia, are analyzed in the first chapter--they are the delay of the development of capitalism, the existence of enormous undeveloped expanses and certain traditions of Russian social science thought. The authors direct attention for the first time to the favorable review of V. I. Lenin of K. Kautskiy's article "Malthusianism and Socialism." The methodological importance of Lenin's criticism of Neomalthusianism in the struggle against contemporary versions of Malthus' theory of population is also shown in the chapter.

The first major work on the criticism of Malthusianism--V. A. Milyutin's "Mal'tus i yego protivniki" /Malthus and His Opponents/--was published in 1847, when the propagation of Malthusianism in Russia was sharply stepped up in connection with the struggle against socialist ideas. While revealing the utopianism of V. A. Milyutin, the authors at the same time note his influence on the formation of the views of the great Russian thinker and revolutionary N. G. Chernyshevskiy, who made a great contribution to the criticism of the theory of Malthus.

In the second chapter the authors dwell in detail on the struggle against Malthusianism of the Russian revolutionary democrats--the followers of Chernyshevskiy: D. I. Pisarev, N. V. Shelgunov, N. V. Sokolov, A. I. Shchapov, V. A. Zaytsev and others, the revolutionary populists--P. N. Tkachev,

G. Z. Yeliseyev. Interesting data, which characterize the views of some Russian naturalists, are cited, special attention is devoted to K. A. Timiryazev, D. I. Mendeleyev and K. E. Tsiolkovskiy.

The third chapter of the monograph is devoted to the Marxist stage of the struggle against Malthusianism in Russia (the late 19th and early 20th centuries). Special attention in it is devoted to the criticism by V. I. Lenin of the concepts of population of the liberal populists and the "legal Marxists."

The book is the fruit of much research work. At the same time it is also not void of some shortcomings, in particular the analysis of the demographic situation of one stage or another of the development of the struggle against Malthusianism in Russia is inadequately represented, there are no data on the attitude of Russian statisticians toward the concept of Malthus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the importance of the criticism of the opponents of Malthusianism is not always revealed.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF SOVIET HISTORICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 216-217

/Review by L. G. Gaft of the book "Sovetskaya intelligentsiya. Sovetskaya istoricheskaya i filosofskaya literatura za 1968-1977 gg. Bibliograficheskaya ukazatel'" (The Soviet Intelligentsia. Soviet Historical and Philosophical Literature for 1968-1977. A Bibliographical Index), compiled by K. K. Iskol'dskaya and V. V. Fortunatov, edited by V. S. Volkov and S. A. Fedyukin, Novosibirsk, 1978, 450 pages/

/Text/ The publication of this index was timed to coincide with the All-Union Scientific Conference on the Theme "The Soviet Intelligentsia and Its Role in the Building of Communism," which was held in Novosibirsk. Considerable space in it is assigned to works on the problem of the formation of the intelligentsia and its individual detachments during the entire history of the Soviet state, on the role of the intelligentsia in the building of communism and its place in the social structure of the mature socialist society. The combination of the philosophical and historical approach made it possible to find the optimum scheme of the classification of the material and to present the maximum number of works, which examine the problems of the Soviet intelligentsia, as well as the intelligentsia of a number of socialist, capitalist and developing countries.

The bibliographical bulletins of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences for 1968-1977 served as the main source when compiling the index.

Works covering theoretical problems are cited in its first section. The works of V. I. Lenin are especially singled out. The definitions of the intelligentsia, which are contained in the works of some researchers, serve as the criteria of classification for the compilers. The bibliography on such problems as the scientific and technical revolution and the intelligentsia, the working class and the intelligentsia, the social sources of the reinforcement of the intelligentsia and others is interesting.

Along with works on individual occupational detachments works on the intelligentsia of the peoples of the USSR are also presented.

The next section of the index contains works on the formation and activity of the Soviet intelligentsia as a whole and its occupational detachments from October 1917 to the present. The works of Soviet authors on the criticism of bourgeois concepts are cited in the concluding section.

The index will unquestionably be of use to philosophers and historians of Soviet society. In the future thought should be given to the publication of the bibliographical index on this theme for the 60 years of existence of our state. It is also expedient, in our opinion, to include in such indices materials of a bibliographical nature on the creative work of the outstanding representatives of the Soviet national intelligentsia.

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